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- (g) To fill any office in the Society on being duly elected thereto.

The Jesuits at Agra in 1635-37.

Edited and translated

By THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

Father Jos. de Castro, S.J., Mirza Zu-l Qarnain's chaplain, wrote 'from Mogol' on August 8, 1632, to Fr. Jos. Baudo, S.J., Turin, that he had been with the Mirza the last three years. The Mirza had all that time been Governor of some Provinces of Bengala. The town is nowhere mentioned; but, it was 200 or 250 miles from Agra, and 300 from Hugli. I have sometimes thought it was Patna; perhaps, it was Jaunpur. Fr. de Castro added a post-script from Agra, on November 24, 1632, stating that he had arrived 8 days before, with the Mirza, after a 2 months' journey.

On November 24, 1632, Fr. de Castro writes from Agra to the General of the Society that he had arrived from Bengala 8 days before. The King had recalled the Mirza. (Let us remember that in June 1632 the Muhammadans had invested Hugli, and that the siege lasted till the end of November. These events may have had something to do with the Mirza's recall.) The Mirza was received with much honour by the King, and the Fathers hoped he would soon get another good commission. (The events then taking place in Bengal had had some effect on the Agra Mission already. The King had shown himself hostile to the Christians from the beginning of his reign, and it was feared that worse days were in store for them.)

Fr. de Castro wrote on February, 6, 1633, from Agra that the bell of their Church had been removed on the day of the Epiphany, January 6, 1633; 4 *piyādas* had been posted in the house to watch over them day and night, and the Fathers were forbidden to make any converts. The Mirza had shown himself very firm in certain demands of the King touching his faith. The news had reached them that Hugli had been destroyed.

On October 5, 1633, Fr. F. Corsi, S.J., wrote to the General of the Society from Agra. They had been a whole year subject to persecution. In September 1632, the Mirza's step-mother and his two half-brothers had been seized, their property had been taken, and the two half-brothers had of their own accord become Muhammadans, hoping that would save them. Then the Mirza was recalled from Bengala, and Shah Jahan wanted to make a Muhammadan of him too, or seize his treasures. He began,

Editorial Note: This paper was received in 1930 but for various reasons it remained unattended before the death of the author. It is now published in its original form, and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the Philological Secretary, has revised the proofs.—P. G. H. A. E. C. O. L. A. L.

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however, by vexing the Fathers. On the Epiphany of 1633 their house was invested by armed soldiery, and the three bells were removed from the steeple. Even one of their great friends, a former pupil of theirs, turned against the Fathers. Fr. Corsi, going to his house on February 18, was severely ill-treated. On February 23, the Fathers were suddenly ordered to leave their house, were kept four days prisoners, and, on being allowed to go home, they found everything in such disorder that they spent eight days in fitting up the house. On March 6, a Sunday, they said Mass again, but the Judge came that day, sat down, called the Mirza, and began tormenting several persons to know where his treasures were. Fr. Jos. de Castro received on three separate occasions 50 lashes. After the 4th or 5th blow he had fallen to the ground. That night the Mirza was taken to the palace, and the next day the four Fathers were taken to prison, where they remained till March (?) 13. They were released with the Mirza, when the latter promised to pay the sum they wanted: 400,000 scudi. By and by, they wanted more, and both the Mirza's and the Fathers' house was searched, the floor being dug up. Nothing was found, and the police left the Fathers alone that night. The Mirza had already paid three lakhs of scudi, but had to pay still one lakh. From a rich man he was now reduced to poverty, but the Fathers hoped the King would reinstate him.

On October 8, 1633, Fr. Jos. de Castro wrote to Fr. Nuno Mascarenhas, S.J., Assistant of Portugal in Rome, that the Mirza had had to pay 8 lakhs of rupees or about 400,000 cruzados. To help him as much as they could, they had given back to him the golden chalice which he had presented to the Church.

I cannot say exactly when the Mirza was liberated from prison. He assisted at the burial of Fr. Matthew de Payva, who died at Agra on November 2, 1633.

* * *

(Fol. 1r.)

(Fol. 1r.)

Goa 46.¹

635 $\frac{5}{IX}$ Agra.²

Jos. de Castro.³

<p><i>Breve Narratione delle cose occorse nel Coll. o di Agra della Mission di Mogor del 1635.</i>⁴</p>	<p><i>Brief Narrative of what hap- pened in the College of Agra, in the Mission of Mogor, in 1635.</i></p>
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^{1,2,3} Notes by an archivist. The letters here published belong to the Society of Jesus in Europe.

⁴ There is no paragraphing in the letter. We divide the text into paragraphs.

L'Anno passato il Rè del gran Mogor press dopo un lungo assedio Vgolino città nel Regno di Bengalla, e la distrusse affatto, e condusse in questa città capo del suo Regno quasi $\frac{m}{4}$ homini prigionii, tutti carichi di ferri.

Di questi molti, subito che poterò, cominciarono a venire à casa nostra, e frequentare la nostra chiesa, come se si trouassero nel mezzo del Europa; e però tuttoche non hauesero acquistata la libertà, ad ogni modo per l'allegrezza, che sentiuano ne loro animi per poter riceuere i SS. Sacramenti, si marauigliuano come se fossero mutati in altri homini: poiche molti ristorati con questo cibo delle anime, si animauano a sopportar le fatiche, che gl' imponeuano i Padroni; altri si riempuano di noua gratia, e consolatione per perseuerare constanti, e fermi nella fede una uolta abbracciata. Perciò quelli, che ò per debolezza ò per paura d' tormenti erano caduti, di nouo risorguano; li dubbiosi, e uacillanti pigliauano nouo animo; li constanti, e fermi diuentauano sempre mai uia

Last year, after a long siege, the King of the great Mogor took the city of Ugolino,¹ in the Kingdom of Bengalla, destroyed it entirely, and brought as prisoners to this city, the capital of his Kingdom, about 4,000 people, all of them laden with chains.²

Many of these, as soon as they could, began to come to our house and to frequent our church, just as if they had been in the centre of Europe; ³ and, though they had not recovered their liberty, still the inward joy they felt at being able to receive the Holy Sacraments, made them wonder, as if they had been changed into other men. Indeed, re-invigorated by that spiritual nutriment, many braced themselves up to bear the troubles inflicted on them by their Masters; others were filled with new grace and consolation to continue firm and constant in the faith they had once embraced.⁴ Consequently, those whom their weakness or the fear of torments had caused to fall, rose again; the irresolute and wavering gathered new courage; the staunch and firm

The letter, not being addressed to 'his Paternity', but to 'his Reverence', the addressee is not the General of the Society of Jesus. The letter is not an autograph. Certain spellings make us think that the Italian text is a translation, perhaps from the Spanish.

¹ The original probably bore 'Vgulim', a spelling then common for Hugli.

² Fr. de Castro's date is at fault. The siege of Hugli had lasted from the end of June to the end of September 1632, and the 4,000 prisoners from Hugli had arrived at Agra in July 1633. (Cf. *JASB.*, 1910, p. 531.)

³ They suspected no danger.

⁴ The words 'the faith they had once embraced' seem to refer only to the native converts.

piu ualorosi; finalm.te tutti tanto homini, quanto donne ricorrendo a questa nostra chiesa, come a certiss.o refugio, hauendo piu fiate prouato esser l'unico alleggerimento delle anime loro. Si uedeuano bene spesso, e non senza una certa tenerezza, e gusto interno quei pouerelli laceri per tutto il corpo, e per la longhezza del uiaggio squallidi uenirsene dà noi à piedi scalsi, acciò potessero ò trauarsi presenti al S. to Sacrificio della messa, ò riceuere li santi sacramenti: alcuni di nascosto, e senza saputa d' Padroni; altri apertamente, e tra questi molti homini, e donne nobili, che non auuezze à simili fatiche, na à caminare à piedi, ma ad esser portate sopra le spalle d' schiaui; hora à piedi nudi, como hò ditto, e spesso con pioggia, e per strade fangose, le Dominiche, e giorni di festa, et alle uolte anche, e non di raro fra la settimana, potendo uenir dà noi liberam.te, lo riputauano sommo beneficio, parendoli la nostra chiesa un ritratto del Paradiso, mercè ch' era si bene adorna di uarie figure, et imagini d' santi, che pareua non si potesse dessiderar (*Fol. 1v*) cosa piu bella.

In questa ogni giorno di festa dopo il S.o Sacrificio della messa la matina si predicaua, ouero con qualche esortatione, secondo che il tempo richiedeuà si suppliua; dopò il mezzo

grew each time stronger; in fine, all of them, men and women, flocked to this our church as to a very safe refuge, having repeatedly experienced that it was the only solace to their souls. Very often we could see, and not without a certain emotion and heart-felt consolation, these poor wretches, their bodies all torn, and filthy from the length of the road, come to us barefoot, that they might either be present at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, or receive the Holy Sacraments. Some came in secret and without the knowledge of their masters; others openly, and among these were many men and women of noble rank, not accustomed to such toils, or to walking on foot, but rather to being carried (the women) on the shoulders of slaves. On Sundays and feastdays, and sometimes too, and not unfrequently, on weekdays, since we allowed them to come freely, they would come barefooted, as I have said, and often through the rain and the muddy streets. It was to them the greatest of all blessings. Our church appeared to them like a picture of Paradise. It was so well adorned with all kinds of statues and pictures of the Saints that, it seemed, nothing prettier could be looked for (*Fol. 1v*).

Every feastday, in the morning, after the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, we preached to them in that church, or addressed to them, instead, some exhortation, according as the

giorno s' instruiuano i fanciulli nella doctrina x'piana, e nelle cose appartenenti alla nostra santa fede, e uerso la sera poi con gran diuotione, e concorso di gente si cantauano le litanie di n'ra Sig.ra con lequali sante occupationi appena inuerò si puol credere quanto profitto tutti habbiano fatto. In sul principio di q.te cose dubitando noi, che non ci occorresse quello, che poi auuenne, cominciammo à fare le nostre fontioni senza strepito, e molto cautam.te, e questo à fine solam.te di non dare occasione ai Mahumettani d'eccitar contro di noi qualche tragedia. Onde noi stessi alle uolte uietauamo alli x'piani la frequenza della chiesa; il che non si faceua senza grandiss.o sentimento, e cordoglio del animo, non uolendosi dar à credere il pericolo, che ci sourastaua, e che molte fiata tanto in publico, quanto in priuato gli haueuamo predetto. Ma non furno mai bastanti tutte queste arti à ritenerli dalla frequenza della chiesa; anzi che molti ottenuta in scritto la licenza d^a loro Padroni, piu spesso, che mai frequentauano i sudetti santi esercitij; altri ueniuanò dall' istessi Padroni spontaneamente spinti; anzi che alcuni altri degl' istessi Mahumetani, che erano personaggi principali, uinti dalla fortezza, e constanza nel patire d^e x'piani schiaui, di lor spontanea uoluntà gli dauano animo, dicendo, seguitate se uolete ad andare alli uostri P'ri, et à frequentar la chiesa: ne noi dalla parta nostra

occasion required; in the afternoon, we taught the children the Christian Doctrine,¹ and what pertains to our Holy Faith; then, towards the evening, amidst great devotion and concourse of people, the Litanies of our Lady were sung. It is scarcely possible, indeed, to believe how much profit all derived from these holy exercises. In the beginning, as we suspected that what happened subsequently would come to pass, we performed our functions without any noise, and very cautiously: this, simply to avoid giving to the Mahumettans an occasion of bringing upon us some tragedy. Hence, we sometimes forbade the Christians to come to the church; but this could not be done without incurring much ill-feeling and complaint. They would not believe the danger which lay concealed, though we had often predicted it to them both in public and in private. But, all our pleading availed no longer to keep them from coming to the church; on the contrary, many obtained in writing the permission of their Master and more than ever frequented the said holy exercises; others were sent by their very Masters, without any request; nay, some others among the Mahumettans, and of the highest rank, overcome by the fortitude and firmness of their Christian slaves in the midst of their sufferings, encouraged them themselves, saying: 'If you like, continue to go to

¹ The Catechism.

mancassimo in questo, poiche dà non pochi della prima nobilità, per altro nostri amicissimi, ottenemmo licenza perche li loro schiaui potessero uenire dà noi liberamente: Il che fù cagione, che molti altri spontaneamente facessero il medemo. Onde accorgendosi noi ben presto, che molti senza alcun timore, con licenza d' loro Padroni frequentauano la nostra chiesa, stimolati dalla coscienza cominciammo à farci scrupolo quando che piu lungamente hauessimo lor proibito l' entrar nella chiesa, e uietatali la publica participatione d' sacramenti, ancorche per altra parte stessimo sempre con timore, che di quà non ne nascesse qualche incontro, come auuenne: ma il feruore d' (*Fol. 2r*) schiaui x'piani era allhora così grande, che qualunque impedimento si fusse posto per ritardare il loro ardore, si sarebbe ascritto piu tosto ad impietà, che à zelo, ò à prudenza x'piana.

Caminando dunque le cose nostre tanto prospera, e felicemente, il demonio inuidioso non potendo piu soffrire di ueder fiorire il culto diuino, e l'honor d' suoi santi, fra il ghiaccio della Mahumettana impietàs come che poco auanti hauesse fatto abbattere, e diroccare molte sontuose chiese d' X'piani nel porto di Vgula, et in Bengalla, si pose all' impresa di uoler gettar à

your Fathers and to frequent the Church'.

Nor did we remain behind-hand in the matter. From not a few, belonging to the first nobility, who besides were very friendly to us, we obtained leave for their slaves to come to us freely, and this led many other masters to allow the same unasked. As we remarked very soon that many relied on the permission of their masters to frequent our church without the slightest fear, we began to feel scruples and disquiet of heart that we should so long have forbidden them to come to our church and join in the public participation of the Sacraments; yet, on the other hand, we were always afraid that it would bring us into trouble, as was the case. But, the fervour of (*Fol. 2r*) the Christian slaves was then so great that, whatever obstacle we might have thrown into their way to check their ardour, it would have been considered impiety rather than zeal or Christian prudence.

We were getting on smoothly and happily, when the devil, jealous at seeing the worship of God and of His Saints flourish in spite of the icy blasts of Mahumettan impiety, came to mar our happiness. Not long before, he had succeeded in ruining and destroying many sumptuous Christian churches in the harbour of Ugula¹ and in Bengalla. He resolved to cast down our

¹ Read: Ugulim. The spelling shows that the Italian text is not the original.

terra ancor questa nostra per mezzo d' maestri del infame setta, il che gli auuenne fatto;

poiche il giorno di S. Silvestro Papa stando il P're nostro all' altare dicendo la messa alla presenza di tutti li altri X'piani, in un subito li ministri Regij comparirono per ordine del Gouvernatore, cosi comandato dal Rè, et entrati in chiesa con gran impeto, poste le guardie, alle porte, accio niuno potesse d' indi uscire, si accostarono prima d' ogni altro al P're, e ritrattolo con gran uiolenza dal altare, cosi uestito come egli era delle uesti sacerdotali, lo legaronc strettamnte con la stola, e l' istesso fecero poscia di me, e di tutti li altri X'piani; Dopo si riuoltorno al altare, e preso con sacrileghe mani il sacro calice, sparsero sopra il tapeto del altare il pretioso sangue del Saluatore; e questo, perche il sacerdote soprapreso improuisamente non haueua potuto consumare altro che l'hostia: Noi dunque tutti, fatta una lunga fila fummo cosi ligati per le strade, e piazze condotti al tribunal del Prefetto, portando molti X'piani ancorche ligati uarie immagini d' Santi. In questa comitiua d' prigionieri u'erano d' ogni sorte di natione di Europa, Portoghesi, Veneziani, Italiani, Francesi, e non pochi Armeni, auuenga che le empij soldati non ebbero riguardo ad età, e conditione di ueruna persona, gridando con-

church too. With the help of the doctors of the infamous sect (of Mahumet), he succeeded only too well.

On the day of St. Silvester, Pope,¹ our Father stood at the altar,² saying Mass in the presence of all the other Christians, when suddenly the King's officers, sent by the Governor, who himself had received orders from the King, appeared in our midst. They rushed into the church with great noise, and, placing guards at the doors, to prevent anyone from escaping, they went straight to the Father, pulled him violently from the altar, vested as he was in his priestly vestments, and bound him tight with his stole. Next, they did the same with me and the other Christians. Then they returned to the altar, laid sacrilegious hands on the sacred chalice, and poured the Precious Blood of the Saviour on the altar carpet. Indeed, the priest had been surprised so suddenly that he had been able to consume only the Host. So then, bound as we all were, we were drawn up into a long file and were marched through the streets and public places to the Prefect's tribunal. Notwithstanding their bonds, many of the Christians were made to carry sundry images of Saints. In this procession of prisoners was represented every nation of Europe: Portuguese, Venetians, Italians, Frenchmen, and not a few

¹ December 31, 1634.

² Perhaps Fr. Francis Morando, an Italian (cf. *JASB.*, 1910, pp. 459, 531-532), or Fr. João d' Oliveyra.

tinuam.te, che tutti noi eravamo homini circumcisi, e bugiardi seguaci di Maometto. Giunti auanti il Gouvernatore, comandò, che tutti li X'piani fossero incarcerati, m^a noi altri P'ri uolle, che ritornassimo alla nostra casa, per ritrar di là le mobiglie.

Doue non tantosto arriuam-no, che di subito sù li occhi nostri pieni di lagrime per uedere una tanto grande sceleragine, li empij ministri del Demonio (*Fol. 2v*) cominciarono con pali di ferro à demoliu sacri altari, squarciare le sacre immagine, e ridurre in minutissimi pezzi, sputacciarle, e con piedi calpestarle; In fine non lasciando di esercitare sorte alcuna d' impietà, che dal furor Maumetano contro Iddio, e d' Santi suoi, gli ueniua dettato.

Fatto questo, hauendo con lor proprij occhi riconosciuto, che niuno de X'piani era conforme al empio rito circumciso, hauendo prima richiesto chi per loro facesse securtà, laquale da un solo fù dat, che per l'auuenire niuno sarebbe piu

Armenians. The impious soldiery had no regard either for age or condition. They kept shouting that we were circumcised all of us, but renegade followers of Maomet. When we arrived before him, the Governor ordered all the Christians to be imprisoned. As for us, the Fathers, he told us to go back to our house and to remove the furniture.

No sooner had we arrived there, than we had to witness a spectacle which drew tears from our eyes: the impious minions of the Devil (*Fol. 2v*) began presently to demolish the holy altars with iron bars, destroy the sacred images, reduce them to minute fragments, spit upon them, and trample them under foot. In fine, they omitted no kind of impiety which their Maumetan frenzy dictated to them against God and His Saints.

After this, when they had ascertained with their own eyes that not one of the Christians had been circumcised after their impious rite, they asked who would give bail—only one¹ came forward—on condition that none of them

¹ We suggest the name of Shāh 'Alā-ud-dīn Muḥammad. Cf. *JASB.*, 1910, p. 452. Among the additional MSS., British Museum, Vol. 1 (1828-41), No. 9855, is found a petition from him to the 'Signor Padre Superior Jiū', in which he recites how he came to Agra and was asked by the Portuguese to go bail for the Portuguese prisoners from Hugli. No one else would give security for them: so he had several interviews with Aṣaf Jāh, the khān-khānān, and procured the liberty of the prisoners. Compare with S. Manrique, *Itinerario Oriental*, p. 439, col. 1. 'Coje Alanti Mamede' was Aurangzeb's ambassador to the Portuguese in 1667-68. Cf. J. F. J. Bikar, *Collecção de Tratados e concertos de pazes*, t. IV, pp. 123-135. We cannot suggest the name of Mirza Zu-l Qarnain, who was then at Lahore. As for Jerome Veroneo, the Venetian planner and builder of the Taj, he was very possibly among the prisoners himself, since no discrimination was made between the prisoners from Hugli and the Agra Christians.

ritornato dà noi per fare oratione, rimandarono ciascuno à sua casa, e noi con alcuni pochi fornimenti sottratti dalle empie mani d' sbirri, poiche questi per commandamento del Re doue-uano restare intati ci ritirammo ad alcune case da pigione.

Hor mentre il Rè commanda, che questo si facci, egli si ritrouaua lontano di quà .25. giornate di camino nella città di Tabor capo di questo Regno; et appresso di lui staua un n'ro P're in compagnia di un nobiliss.o cortegiano, homo molto benemerito della Comp.a, e fondatore del Collegio, e Missione del Tibet. Però uenendo l'uno, e l'altro con un messo à postà auuisato affine che se fusse stato possibile porgesero alcun agiuto a tanti mali. Appena riceuerono le nostre lettere, che di nouoil Rè commanda, che subito fussimo mandati uia del Regno per ritornare à n'ri Paesi. Giunta questa noua, dato di mano à tutto ciò, che di pretioso si ritrouaua appò di noi, ò per uso n'ro, ò per seruitio della chiesa, l'inuiammo insieme con .2. P'ri all'Indie; e fra tanto aspettando noi il ritorno del Rè in questa città,

il qual subito giunto, cominciammo à negoziare con il socero di lui, homo uecchio,

would thenceforth come to us again for prayer; next, they sent them all home. We retired to some rented houses with some few articles saved from the impious hands of the soldiery, which the King had ordered to leave intact.

Now, while the King ordered these proceedings, he was in the city of Tabor,¹ the capital of this kingdom, a journey of 25 days from here. Near him was one of our Fathers,² who was in the suite of a very noble courtier, a great benefactor of the Society, the founder of the College, and of the Mission of Tibet.³ Both were informed by express courier of what had happened, in the hope that, if possible, they would give us a helping hand in our troubles; but, they had scarcely received our letters when the King issued another order turning us out of the Kingdom and bidding us return to our countries. On receiving this news, we took whatever valuables we had either for our personal use or for the use of the church, and sent them off to the Indies⁴ under the care of two Fathers. Meanwhile, we awaited the King's return to this city.

As soon as the King had come back, we entered into negotiations with his father-

¹ Read: Lahor. Another proof that the Italian text is not the original one, or at any rate another proof that our text is a copy.

² The Father then with the Mirza may have been Fr. Francesco Corsi.

³ Alexander, the father of Mirza Zu-l Qarnain (Alexander), had held high office under Akbar. The Mirza had been brought up in the palace with Shāh Jahān himself.

⁴ Portuguese India: Goa, and its settlements on the West Coast.

e che piu fiate in somiglianti occasioni c'era stato molto fauoreuole, acciò ci suggerisse qualche rimedio in cosi graue borasca; mà elli francamente ci rispose, che il caso nostro era spedito, e che non si poteua tentar cosa alcuna appò del Re, ne far piu longa dimora nel Regno; mà esser necessario, che quanto prima ci partissimo; il che acciò piu facilmente si potesse eseguire, egli per l'amor, che ci portaua, ci haurebe dato homini fidati, e sicuri, cò quali senz'altro impedimento hauriamo portuto passare all'Indie. Ciò inteso (*Fol. 3r*) dà noi gli mostrammo l'ordine del N'ro P're Pro'le, come c'imponeua, che non partissimo dalla presenza del Rè se non scacciati à uiua forza. A questo soggiunse egli, bene stà, uoi potrete restar quiui come homini priuati, ma con questa conditione, che in niuna maniera ammettiate in casa uostra, ne in chiesa alcun X'piano per orare, e molto meno, che non facciate raunanza di loro. Così, sebene di mala uoglia, accettammo l'iniqua conditione, ancorche con speranza di qualche magior bene: e pure non ricusò, che formassimo una noua supplica al Re, per ottener licenza, al meno ci fusse lecito di esercitare i n'ri ministerij con i n'ri x'piani, come per l'auanti era costume di farsi, e questo senza pompa e strepito alcuno, e questa supplica si esibì egli di presentare al Rè; il che sin' hora non hà eseguito, ancor-

in-law,¹ an old man, who had several times been very favourable to us in similar occasions, and asked him to suggest how we might avert so furious a storm; but, he answered candidly that our case was hopeless, that it was impossible for us to try anything with the King, or remain any longer in the Kingdom. We were to leave as soon as possible, and, to facilitate matters, he would—out of the love he bore us—have given us safe and trusty attendants with whom we might have gone without further delay to the Indies. On hearing this, (*Fol. 3r*) we showed him the order of our Father Provincial, which enjoined on us not to leave the King's presence unless we were driven out by sheer force. Hereupon he replied: 'Very well, you may remain here as private individuals, but on condition that you will in no way admit to your house or to your church any Christian who might come to pray, much less may you hold meetings'. Much against our wish, but with the hope of greater good, we accepted the iniquitous condition. He did not, however, object to our drawing up a new petition to the King, asking that we might at least be allowed to minister to our Christians, as we used to do before, that is without pomp or noise. He even offered to present this petition to the King, but he has not done so yet, although we have

¹ Aşaf-Khān.

che piu fiate l' habbiamo instantissimi (ma)mente pregato.

Noi frà tanto di nascosto, e furtiuam.te andiamo souuenendo al meglio che si puole à q.ti n'ri x'piani ministrando loro i sacramenti, o con denari, ch' essi spontaneam.te ci porgono, ò che noi alla giornata andiamo mendicando. Dal che la R.a V.a può congetturare come la passiamo in mezzo di tanti trauagli, e fatiche di animo, e di corpo, poiche di continuo uiuiamo con la morte si puol dire alla bocca, incerti, e dubiosi, che resolutione habbi a prender di noi l'empio Re.

De X'piani che l'anno passato dà Bengalla furno condotti qui prigionie, molti per la paura se ne sono fugiti; alcuni hanno ceduti à tormenti, la magior parte però si ritrouaua quiui ancora pronta à sostenere qualsiuoglia incontro e tormento per la fede, risoluti di seguitare i P'ri ouunque siano dal Re relegati. Da .500. incirca d'prigionieri sono passati al'altra uita, consumati dalla fame, caldi eccessiui, et altre fatiche intollerabili con segni euidentissimi della lor salute, poiche tutti, toltine alcuni pochi cò quali non habbiamo potuto trattare, hanno dà noi preso i sacramenti, e li loro figlioli di fresco nati sono stati battezzati. Quelli, che sono rimasti sono per la magior parte donne al numero quasi di .500., le quali cosi strettam.te uengono custodite nelle case d' principali sig.ri di questa città, che non è possibile trattar con loro, che pero niun giouamento se li

several times urgently requested him.

Meanwhile, we continue secretly and stealthily to help our Christians, as best we can, administering to them the Sacraments or assisting them with alms, which they offer us of their own accord or which we go begging day after day. Your Reverence can imagine what our life is like here, in the midst of such toils and troubles of soul and body. We may say that death is ever staring us in the face, for we know not what resolution the impious King may take concerning us.

Of the Christians who were brought here last year as prisoners from Bengalla, many have fled out of fear; some have yielded under their tortures; but the greater number is still here, ready to face for the Faith any hardships and torments, and resolved to follow the Fathers whithersoever the King may banish them. What with hunger, and what with the excessive heat and other sufferings unbearable, some 500 of the prisoners have departed to the next life, leaving us evident marks of their salvation. With the exception of a few with whom we had not been able to communicate, all had received the Sacraments, and their newly born children were baptised. Those who remain are mostly women, about 500. These are so strictly guarded in the houses of the chief gentlemen of this city that it is impossible for us to have any dealings with them, or to get any help

può dà noi arrecare. Ma quello, che piu ci (*Fol. 3v*) pesa è, che molti fanciulli per l'istessa cagione corrono grandissimo rischio della loro dannatione, e con essi si trouano dà .43. mercanti Portoghesi con .80. schiaui incirca, li quali per ordine del Rè stanno imprigionati in un carcere priuato, e separato dà tutti li altri; e sebene teneuano promessa di douer esser liberati quanto prima, ad ogni modo già sono .2. anni, che si trouano colà con pochissima speranza di douerne uscire, e però pianpiano uanno mancando ò consumati dalle fame, ò à forza d' tormenti, li quali sono così essessiui, che superano ogni credere, et in questo i Mahumetani non sono niente meno crudeli del istesso Nerone.

Io se hò à dire il uero, stimo, che il N'ro Sig.re ci habbi data opportuna occasione di esercitare i nostri ministerij, mentre siamo sforzati porgere alcun soccorso à questi miseri scorrendo continuam.te per le strade, e case, hor alla scoperta, hor di nascosto, talhora ancora in habito sconosciuto per ministrare i sacramenti, e souenire à corpi con cibi et anco per confermarli nella fede, acciò in essa constantem.te si mantenghino; e però tutti ad una uoce ricordeuoli di tanta carità, a pertamente confessano, che dopo Dio, dalli soli P'ri della n'ra Comp.à riconoscono la constanza, e fermezza, che insperimentano nella credenza di nostra fede.

to reach them. But, what grieues us more (*Fol. 3v*) is that, for the same reason, many children run the greatest risk of their perdition. With them are 43 Portuguese merchants and about 80 slaves, who, by the King's order, are kept in a private prison, separate from the rest. They had been promised their liberty at the first occasion, but two years have now elapsed¹ and they are still there, with very little hope of ever being liberated. Little by little, their ranks are thinning. They die of hunger or under the stress of their torments, their sufferings being so excessive that they pass all belief, and in this matter the Maumettans are not less cruel than Nero himself.

To tell the truth, I believe that Our Lord has given us an opportunity of fulfilling our ministerial duties. To afford some help to these poor wretches, we are continually obliged to run about the streets, from house to house, now openly, then secretly, at times too in disguise, ministering the Sacraments, relieving their bodily wants with food, and confirming them in the faith, that they may persevere in it to the end. Hence, in their gratitude for so much charity, they are unanimous in proclaiming openly that, after God, they owe to the Fathers of our Society the firmness and fortitude they feel in the profession of our faith.

¹ Here Fr. de Castro himself shows that the prisoners had arrived at Agra in 1633.

Dui chierici, che in Bengalla esercitauano li officij di curati carichi di catene sono stati dal Regio carcere condotti piu fiate per le strade, non per altro, che per hauer ricusato di seguitar la setta di Maometto; e dopo lunghi trauagli, e tormenti, alla fine sono passati felicemente al cielo. Similm.te dui P'ri Agostiniani detenuti nel medesimo carcere per l'istessa cagione confessori del uero Iddio, e della X'piana fede, perseuerano con grandissima constanza sino à questo giorno con singolare esempio di tutti questi n'ri X'piani; et à questi serui di Dio della nostra pouertà andiamo noi giornalmente somministrando il uitto necessario, non altrimenti che si fussero di n'ra Comp.à con quella carità propria n'ra; il che saputo dal P.Coano Pro'le del lor ordine ci ha reso per lettere gratie infinite.

(*Fol. 4r.*) Questo é P're mio il stato miserabile alli occhi

Two clerics, who performed the duties of parish-priests in Bengalla, were several times led in chains from the Royal prison through the streets, for no other reason than that they had refused to follow the sect of Moamet. After long travails and torments they have at last gone happily to heaven.¹ Two Augustinian Fathers are also detained in the same prison for the like reason.² Confessors of the true God and of the Christian faith, they persevere with the greatest constancy to this day, thus setting a singular example to all our Christians here. Out of our poverty and with that charity which is our characteristic, we assist these servants of God and provide them daily with their necessary sustenance, just as if they belonged to our Society. The Father Provincial of their Order at Goa, on hearing of this tendered us by letter exceeding thanks.

Such, my Father, is the state—wretched to human eyes

¹ Their names are : Manoel d'Anhaya and Manoel Garcia.

The former was a native of Santarem in Portugal. Cf. S. Manrique, *Itinerario Oriental*, Rome, 1649 and 1653, ch. lxxxi. The inscription on his tomb in the old Agra Catholic Cemetery should be restored thus: AQVI IAZO P. M.^{EL}/D'ANHAYA CLERI./GO MORTO PELA /FEE/NA PRISAÕ A/2D'AGOSTO 1633. / ('Here lieth Father Manoel d'Anhaya, a secular priest, who died in prison for the Faith on August 2, 1633').

The second was perhaps of mixed descent, having been born at 'Siripur', a Portuguese settlement at the mouth of the Meghna river, opposite the island of Sundiva. Cf. Manrique, *op. cit.*, pp. 435./437. I propose the following restoration of the epitaph on his tomb in the octagonal chapel in the old Catholic Cemetery at Agra: AQVI IAZO P. M.^{EL}/GARCIA CLER./GO /MORTO NO CAR /CERE PELA FEE A /23 DE MARCO D' / 1634. / ('Here lieth Father Manoel Garcia, a secular priest, who died in prison for the Faith on March 23, 1634'). For the story of their sufferings and death, cf. Manrique, *op. cit.*, ch. lxxxi.

² Their names are: Father Prior Friar Antonio de Christo and Father Friar Francisco de la Encarnacion. Cf. Manrique, *op. cit.*, chs. 58. 61. 65. 80. 81., for a circumstantial account of their captivity and liberation.

humani, in cui si ritroua di presente questa uigna di X'po, il quale ad ogni modo, como ci conuien sperare della Diuina bontà, e clemenza, haurà esito felicissimo; posciache sebene questo Rè sin dalla sua fanciullezza sia sempre stato inimicissimo d' X'piani; tuttauolta non è *consilium aduersus Dominũ*, il quale saprà bene, come speriamo, come prudentissimo uignarolo trattar di maniera questa sua uigna eletta, chè piena di spine, e triloli non ha sin hora prodotto se non labrusche, à suo tempo produca frutti suauissimi di bone opere.

Di Agra 5. di 7bre del .1635.

D.V.R.

Indegno seruo nal Sig.re
Joseph De Castro.

—to which this vineyard of Christ is now reduced. Still, we may hope from the Divine Goodness and Mercy that this trial will have the happiest issue; for, though this King has from childhood been always most hostile to the Christians, yet 'there is no counsel against the Lord'.¹ We hope that, as a wise vine-dresser, God will know how to tend this His elect vineyard, so that, if it was heretofore full of 'thorns and thistles'² and 'brought forth only wild grapes',³ it may produce in due season the most fragrant fruits of good works.

From Agra, the 5th of September, 1635.

Your Reverence's

Unworthy servant in the Lord,
Joseph De Castro.

Another letter by Fr. de Castro, dated Agra, September 17, 1636, and addressed to the General of the Society of Jesus, Rome, shows under what circumstances a *farman* was obtained, allowing the Fathers to return to their house. We publish the original Portuguese autograph text with a translation.

(P. 1.)

†

(P. 1.)

Jhus Maria.¹

Jesus, Mary.

637 $\frac{17}{IX}$ Agra.²

Our Very Reverend Father
in Christ,

de Castro J.³

The peace of Christ be
always with you.

M. to R. em X'po N.P.

Pax X'pi S.

Hũa de V.P. dos .6. de Jan.o
de 1635 recebi neste anno,
naqual nos consola, e anima

I received this year a letter
from Your Paternity, dated
the 6th of January, 1635, in

¹ Autograph letter.

^{2,3} Notes by an archivist: the date (1) 637 should be (1) 636.

¹ Prov. 21. 30.

² Gen. 3. 18.

³ Isai. 5. 2. 4.

a perseuerar con a deuida const.a nos trabalhos, confiados no grande premio, e esperanças de auer a tornar a bonança.

Foj D's seruido ouuir as deuotas orações e S.os SS.os q' V.P. con sua caride mandou offerecer pera esta itenção, porq' no dia da Conceição de N.S. ra fazendo eu hũa petição ael Rej em q' lhe pedia, nos mandasse tornar a nosso Collegio, e dar licentia de exercitar os nossos ministerios com os nossos x'pãos, se queria ficassemos em seus reinos: nos concedeo todas as licencias q' lhe pedimos, afora a principal de pregar a N.S. ta fee em seus reinos. Con esta enuio a V.P. a copia da patente q'nos concedeo feita em Parsio, e fielmente tresladada em Portuguez. M-tas graças damos a D's N. S.or de nos confirmar em seus reinos; e ainda q' publicamente não se possa fazer o q' desejamos em praticas familiares se pode tratar da leje publicala no melhor modo q' se pode. e ainda q' mandou derubar as Igrejas, no mes.o lugar fizemos huas casas m.to bem acomodadas pollo nosso inteto. Dia da festa do Nascim.to de N. S.-ra dissemos a prim.a Missa nas casas nouamente fabricadas

which you console us and encourage us to persevere in due constancy amidst our troubles, trusting in the great reward, and hoping that sunshine will succeed the storm.

God was pleased to hear the devout prayers and Holy Sacrifices which Your Paternity in your charity ordered to offer up for this intention: for on the day of Our Lady's Conception,¹ as I made a petition to the King, in which I asked him to decree that we might return to our College, and be allowed to exercise our ministrations to our Christians, if he wished us to remain in his dominions, he granted us all the permissions we asked for, the chief one excepted, viz. to preach our Holy Faith in his kingdoms. Herewith I send to Your Paternity a copy of the patent which he granted us. It is written in Persian, and is faithfully rendered into Portuguese. We return many thanks to God our Lord for having confirmed us in the King's dominions, and, though we cannot do in public what we wish, we can, however, in familiar discourses treat of the Law and make it known it as best possible; again, although he ordered the destruction of the Churches,² we have

¹ December 8, 1635. The farman was dated the following day.

² In January 1641 there was at Agra a small chapel in the house which Father Prior Friar Antonio de Christo had occupied during a period of temporary freedom on parole. Cf. Manrique, *op. cit.*, p. 344, col. 2. As Fr. Antonio was in prison on September 5, 1635, he may have enjoyed this respite from captivity between September 5, 1635, and Christmas 1640, at which time he was again in prison. The churches here referred to are the Jesuit churches of Agra and Lahore. The tradition now current at Agra that the 'old Cathedral' is the identical church built by Akbar (*Akbar Pādshāh kī gūnjā*) is here shown to be erroneous. The church built under Akbar, mostly at Jahangir's expense, and on a site granted

con grande applauso dos x'pãos que parece tornarão a resuscitar con estas nouas licêtiás q'el Rej nos concedeo. e assy continuação como dantes os x'pãos a nossa caso fazendo tudo o q' se fazia posteq' sem solemnidade exterior.

Atribuimos tambem aos merecimentos dos dittos S.os SS.os e deuotas orações a mudança q' este Rej fez em favor do nosso S.or Mirza porq' depois de o ter despruiado de nouo, e tiradas as rendas; agora lhe restituiu tudo con dobrados fauores, e merces. e o S.or Mirza se monstra m.to agradecido a D'se a N. S.ta Comp.a por cujo mejo entende lhe uem estos fauores dos Ceos. As cartas de V.P. eu lhas enuiei feitas em Parsio, confio q' elle respondera a ellas. Elle e sua casa cada uez melhor procedem em mata da fee e bous costumeis, ainda q' padecem m.tas necessid.es. A Patente q' V.P. lhe enuiu da fundação da Missão do Tibet, não lhe chegou ate agora, q'he causa

erected in the same place some buildings well adapted to our purpose. On the day of Our Lady's Nativity¹ we said the first Mass in the newly constructed buildings, to the great joy of the Christians who seemed to revive with these new permissions granted us by the King. And so, the Christians frequent our house as before, and we do whatever we did heretofore, though without external solemnity.

We also attribute to the merits of the said Holy Sacrifices and prayers the change made by the King in favour of our Lord Mirza. After he had again deprived him (of his office) and despoiled him of his revenues, he once more restored everything to him and even doubled the favours and kindnesses he formerly enjoyed.² The Lord Mirza shows himself very grateful to God and our holy Society, through which he believes he receives these heavenly favours. I sent him Your Paternity's letters after translating them into Persian, and I hope he will answer them. He and his household are making more and more progress in the faith and in its good practices,

by Akbar at Jahangir's request, was destroyed accidentally by fire in Jahangir's reign.

¹ September 8, 1636.

² From a letter by Fr. Francis Corsi (Agra, October 5, 1633) we learn that the Mirza had been thrown out of favour and had had all his property confiscated. At the time of writing, however, he had been reinstated. We understand from Fr. de Castro's present letter that the Mirza had lost Shah Jahan's favour a second time. Since Fr. de Castro's letter from Agra, September 5, 1635, did not allude to the fact, but showed the Mirza in the King's suite at Lahore, it would follow that this second change of fortune had occurred between September 5, 1633, and September 17, 1636; presumably, between September 5, 1635, and December 8, 1635, considering that the Fathers had obtained their farman on the latter date and had not been harassed since.

de admiração, mas são des-
contas de tam largos caminhos.

Ja escreui a V.P. q' uisto
estar acabada a Missão do
Tibet, sara m.to necess.o appli-
car a sua renda a este Collegio,
con q' ficara bastantem.te aco-
modado. e o S.r Mirza folgara
se applique antes nestes reinos
q' em outros, uisto fazerẽ os
Padres os sufragios de duas
fundações como p'metẽ fazer.

Neste mez de Julho forão
dous P.es p^a missão de Xiri-
nagar, ainda não sabemos de
sua chegada. do q' soceder,
auisarei a V.P. Nests Coll.o
por merce do S.or uiuemos
con m.ta paz ajudando estes
x'pãos e infieis, o q'esperamos
fazer con maior fruto ajudados
con Sta benção de V.P. em
aq'l nos encomẽdamos.

de Agra 17. Setẽbro 1636.¹

albeit they suffer many priva-
tions. The letter which Your
Paternity sent him concerning
the foundation of the Mission
of Tibet has not yet reached
him, and it is cause for sur-
prise; but these are disappoint-
ments inevitable with such
great distances.

I already wrote to Your
Paternity that, considering
that the Mission of Tibet is
at an end,¹ it will be quite
necessary to apply to this
College the foundation made
for it. With it the College
will be sufficiently provided
for, and the Lord Mirza will
be glad to see it applied in
these kingdoms rather than in
others, provided the Fathers
give him—which they promise
to do—suffrages for two foun-
dations.

In July this year two Fathers
went to the Mission of Xiri-
nagar.² We do not know
whether they have arrived.
Whatever happens, I shall let
Your Paternity know. Thanks
to the Lord, we live in great
peace in this College, helping
the Christians and the infidels,
and we hope to do so with still
greater success, if helped our-
selves by Your Paternity's
holy blessing, for which we
commend ourselves.

From Agra, the 17th of Sep-
tember, 1636.

¹ Notes by an archivist.

¹ A Mission had been established at Tsaparang in Guge, Western Tibet, by Fr. Anthony de Andrada, in 1625. He had paid a first visit to that town in 1624. The Mission had come to grief at the hands of the King of Ladakh, owing to the too great favour shown to the Fathers by the King of Tsaparang.

² Srinagar in Garhwal.

D. V. P.

Ind.o filho e seruo em X'po.

† Joseph de Castro.

Address (other page):

Al M. to R. do in Chr'o
N.P. 11 P./ Mutio Vitelleschi
Preposito Ge-/nerale della
Comp. a di Giesu./ In Roma./
2a Via./ D. Mogol./

Endorsements:

P.e Joseph de Castro 17
Dezembro 1636. Mogor.

Se consolou com a q' recebo
de V.P. de 35.

Alcançou restituçam das
casas, etc. e poder exercitar os
ministerios com os x'pãos.
Manda a copia da Patente del
Rey.

O. S.or Mirza, e sua casa
procedem m.to (?) bem.

Tornou a graca del Rey q'
lhe fez (faz ?) mto¹ e fauores.

Pede se lhes applique ao
Collegio de Agra a renda do
Thibet. q' o S.or Mirza se
contentara fique naquella
Reino esta fundaçam fazendo-
lhe os suffragios como fundador
de dous Collegios.

Your Paternity's

Unworthy son and servant
in Christ,

† Joseph de Castro.

Address (other page):

To our Very Reverend
Father in Christ, Father / Mu-
tius Vitelleschi, Provost Ge- /
neral of the Society of Jesus./
At Rome./ 2nd direction./
From Mogol.

Endorsements:

Father Joseph de Castro,
December 17, 1636.¹ Mogor.

He was consoled by Your
Paternity's letter of (16)35.

He recovered the houses,
etc. and obtained leave to
minister to the Christians. He
sends a copy of the King's
Patent.

The Lord Mirza and his
household are getting on very
well.

He has been re-instated into
the King's favour and has
obtained from him many
favours and graces.

He² asks that the revenues
of Thibet be applied to them,
to the College of Agra. The
Lord Mirza will be pleased
to see that foundation remain
in that kingdom, provided he
receive suffrages as the
founder of two Colleges.

Traces of the seal.

*Copia em Parsio da patente q'
el Rej Xagian. S.or do Industan
passou aos P.es da Comp.a de
Ihus em Agra, sua Corte.*

*Copy in Persian of the patent
granted by King Xagian, Lord
of Industan, to the Fathers of
the Society of Jesus in his
Court of Agra.*

¹ *Muitas merces.*

¹ An evident mistake for September 17, 1636.

² Father de Castro.

(Follows the Persian text (19 lines), which I do not now find among these papers, among which they should have been found. We shall place in its stead Fr. de Castro's Portuguese translation with our English translation of the same.)

(Immediately under the Persian text we have these explanations:)

Em cima desta patente esta posta a chapa del Rey grande na qual estan escrittos os nomeis dos reis seus predecessores comecando do gran Temurlang, donde elles descendem, este he o decimo e no mejo da chapa, esta escrito, o nome deste Rej, se chama Xaegiahan. i. S.or do mundo. Detras da mes.a patente uam catorze sinais dos principais officiais del Rej, con suas chapas, e do gran Vazir, e do sogro del Rej, q' foj terceiro diante del Rej, p' nos alcançar a ditta Patente. Mais de cinq' mezes andei no exercito del Rej solicitando esta patente. graças a Deos e a N. S.ra q' tandem se alcançou, e logo tomamos posse do Coll.o derubado a Igreja e fazendo as nouas casas.

† *Copia da patente q'el Rej Mogol, deo aos Padres da Comp.a de Ihus q' residem em Agra sua Corte no anno de 1635 aos 9. de Dezembro. Tresladada de Parsio em Portuguez.*¹

At the top of this patent is placed the seal¹ of the great King, in which are written the names of the Kings, his predecessors, beginning with the great Temurlang, from whom they are descended. The present King is the tenth, and in the middle of the seal is written the name of this King, his name being Xaegiahan, i.e. Lord of the world. At the back of the same patent are fourteen signatures of the King's chief officials with their seals, and that of the great Vazir and of the King's father-in-law, who was our mediator before the King to obtain for us the said patent. During more than five months, I went with the King's army, soliciting this patent. Thanks be to God and Our Lord that it has at last been obtained. We at once took possession of the College, pulling down the Church, and building the new houses.

† *Copy of the patent which the Mogol King granted to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, residing in his Court of Agra, on the 9th of December of the year 1635.*² *Translated from the Persian into Portuguese.*

¹ In Fr. de Castro's writing. The translation in Portuguese is in another's handwriting.

¹ Portuguese *chapa*, from Hindustani *chhāpā*=seal.

² The year seems to have been at first 1636, but this would be a mistake, the year 1636 corresponding to the 9th year of Shah Jahan's reign.

Neste tempo sahio o formão do Rey Xagião, conuena sabar, q' os lugares, e cãsas, e Adro dos Padres franquis que estã em Agra, e tudo aquillo q'o Rey Gianguir lhes tem dado de merçe, e mais tudo aquillo q' ellas conforme ao direito da iustiça comprarão, e fabricarão, tudo isso, damos e concedemos outra uez aelles, e confirmamos estabilmête, he necessario, que os governadores, sobrestantes, officiais, meirinhos, e todos osmais, aquelles q' seruẽ a Coroa real, lhes deissem a poçe liure, e que ninguẽ lhes prohiba, ou perturbe esta liçença, a merçe; mais se mandou que a fabrica da Igreja que elles fizerão, se derube athe o chão, mas os materiais della, a elles se entregue, p' q' se elles quizerem possão no mesmo lugar fabricar casas pera si.do mesmo modo, se os xpãos por cauza de bautizar seus filhos, ou por fazer cazamentos, ou por cauza da doença, ou por cauza de fazer oração, ulerem a casa dos Padres ninguẽ lhes prohiba, e tambem deixẽ que enterrem os mortos conforme ao seu costume no Adro, q' p' isso se lhes tem dado. Visto isto ninguẽ seia q' tenha ouzadia de contradizar aos mandamentos reais, sob pena da desgraça del Rej, foy escrita aos dous do mez q' os mouros chamam Deh. no anno oitauo do meu reinado.

The formão of King Xagião was issued at this time. It is good to know that the places, houses, and Cemetery of the Frangui Fathers who are at Agra, and whatever King Gianguir granted them in gift, and whatever besides they bought and built according to the rights of justice, all this we give and grant once more to them, and firmly ratify. It is necessary that the governors, overseers, officials, and bailiffs, and all the rest who serve the royal Crown should leave to them the free possession (of them), and let no one prevent them, or interfere with this permission and favour. Moreover, it was ordered that the building of the Church, which they had erected, be destroyed to the ground, but let the materials of it be made over to them, so that, if they so wish, they may build houses for themselves in the said place. In the same way, if the Christians come to the house of the Fathers to have their children baptized, or their marriages celebrated, or in case of illness, or for the sake of prayer, let no one prevent them, and let them also according to their custom bury their dead in the Cemetery which was given them for the purpose. On seeing this, let no one be so bold as to go against the royal behests, under penalty of the King's disfavour. Written on the second of the month by the Moors called Deh, in the eighth year of my reign.

(Another English translation done by a Munshi at the request of Fr. Hyacinth, O.C., Agra, in 1913.)

THE GREAT GOD.

At this time this exalted and auspicious firman was issued with honour and dignity, that the buildings and Cemetery, belonging to the European Fathers and situated in Akbarabad, known as Agra, and which was gifted to them by order of His Majesty and whatever more they have purchased themselves and constructed by virtue of different documents and are in possession of, it is required that the honoured officers and economical officials and kotwals of the state act in obedience to the sublime and sacred orders and make absolute and entire possession of the above-mentioned buildings without any change or alteration. It has also been ordered that the church buildings constructed therein be brought to the ground, and the materials be made over to them, so that, should they desire, they may build a dwelling-house for themselves. In the same manner, if desirable, the assembly of Christian people in time of birth, marriage, sickness and for prayers in the house of the Fathers will not be objected to or prohibited. Also that they shall bury their dead according to their own rites in the land bestowed upon them. Do not act contrary to the orders.

Written on the 2nd of Dey in the month of God year 80.¹

Extract from an Italian letter of Father Joseph de Castro (Agra, April 16, 1637) reviewing the situation in 1635 and showing that a better state of things had been reached.

(*Fol. 1r.*) 'Your Paternity must know how, after having been a little over a year out of the College with great discomfort (to ourselves) and the danger of being expelled from these countries, at the end, when we had first had recourse to God and the Madonna, and had agreed to vow a yearly Mass of thanksgiving to Our Lady on the day when our College and church, which is dedicated to the Holy Name, would be restored, Your Paternity must know, I say, how it pleased the Divine Majesty, through the intercession of His Holy Mother, that, on the day of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception, after many requests made through the King's father-in-law, our ancient friend, and the only protector of all the Christians, we should be granted by the King, on the above-said day, not only the favour of returning to our College, but also all the favours we asked for, to wit, leave to administer freely the Sacraments of Baptism, marriage, penance and the Holy Eucharist, to bury our dead after our manner in the cemetery given us by his father and confirmed to us by him: as also leave for the Christians to come to our house and say their prayers privately without let or hindrance, so that we have been confirmed (in our former privileges) with full security and under patent royal, a favour which, in truth,

¹ *Sic.*

seems quite manifestly to have been granted us by the power of God rather than by any human agency.

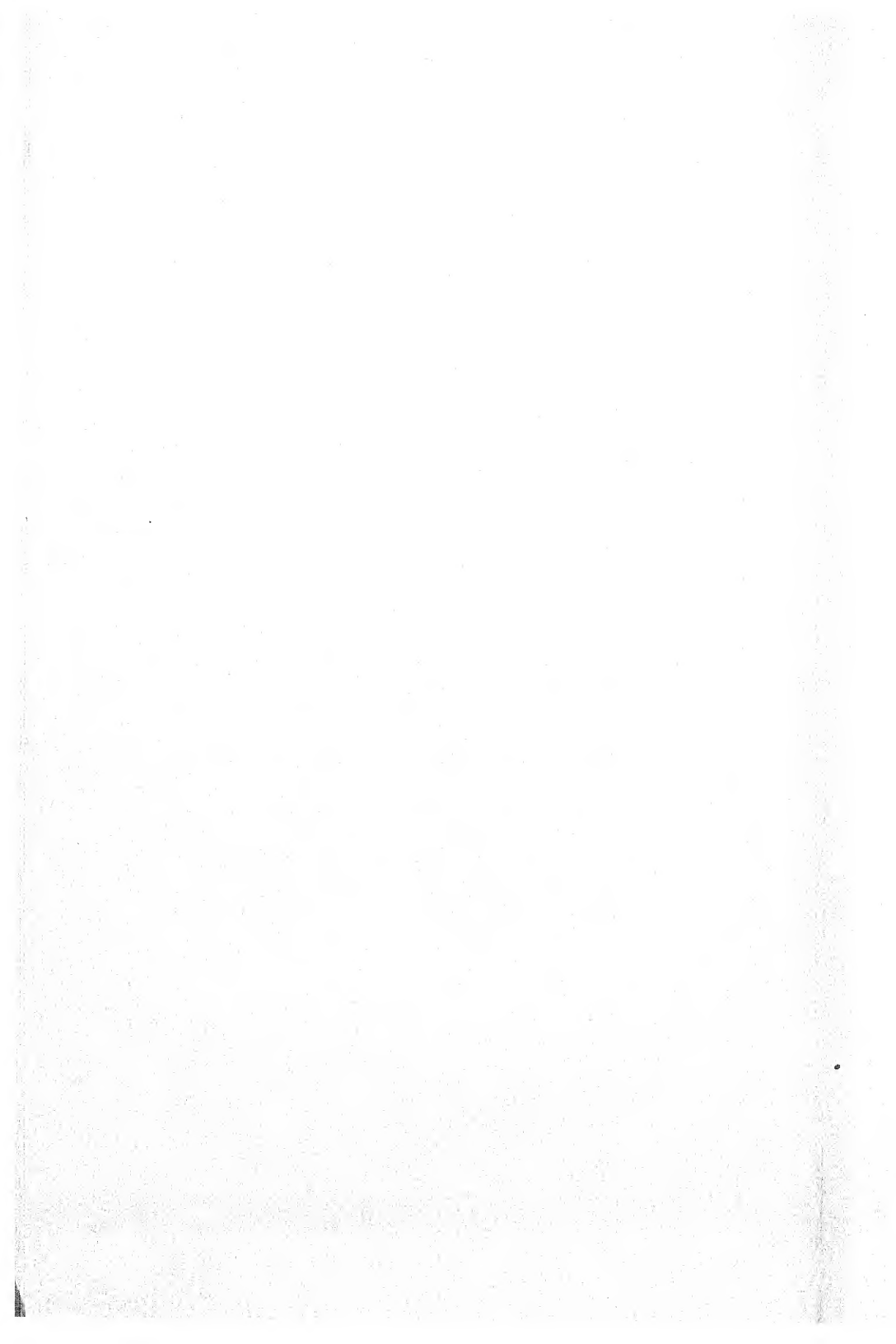
‘It is true that he obliged us to destroy the two churches of Lahor and Agra; still, he gave us leave to erect for our use another house, in the said place of the Church of Agra, as in fact we have done, building two or three rooms which serve very well for our purpose. There we celebrate at present the divine offices, and say Mass. The men are on one side, and the women on the other, so that they hear Mass without seeing one another: for it is the custom in these Kingdoms that the women should not be seen by the men, even of their own household, their father, husband and brother excepted. (*Fol. 1v.*)

(*The first four lines are somewhat damaged.*) ‘In order to avoid giving suspicion....., as I have said, every day, after the Masses have been said, we collect the sacred vestments and the candlesticks, and whatever might give a clue to this. And so, with the grace of God, (we get on ?) as best we can, and the Christians frequent (our house ?) as before, in peace and quiet, and we obtain much fruit among them all by means of the sermons we preach every Sunday and on feastsdays, and during this time of Lent we have been giving every Friday the sermon on the Passion of Christ our Lord, and have had the discipline afterwards, amidst great concourse of all the Christians, Armenians, Portuguese, French, Venetians, and Industanis. Hence, I was obliged to preach to them in Persian and Industani. As for the infidels, we speak often to them in private discourses of our Holy Faith. May God grant them the true light, so that they may receive it.

‘This King holds us in such aversion that he does not want in any way to see us and the other courtiers behave in like manner. Only the King’s father-in-law, by reason of the ancient friendship which he has always had with the Fathers and the Christians, continues to treat us with the same familiarity as before, granting us many favours and services; nay, after God and Our Lady, we owe him all the good things we have. He alone speaks in our favour to the King, whereas so many others try to do us all the harm they can; but, because we stand under the protection of this Prince, who is the second after the King, many show us more respect than they otherwise would. On our part, we try to be on the best of terms with him, serving him in whatever he orders us, and giving him letters of recommendation to our Christians who are in the harbours of Mascate and Tatta, seeing that his merchants trade with the said ports. This year he sends one of his agents to Goa with a great quantity of money, to buy jewels and precious stones to be presented to the King.

‘In this College at least four priests are needed, because one is continually accompanying our founder, the Lord Mirza Zulcarnen and his sons, who follow the King through his various kingdoms. The other three remain in the College, and they

may not be fewer, as Your Paternity knows best: Father Francis Morandi, who already knows well the two languages, Persian and Industani; Father Joam d'Oliveira, who knows only Industani; and myself, who have been for three years already, though unworthily, in charge of this College. And I have often already requested the Father Provincial to grant me the favour of sending another Father, who may fill this office more usefully, while I shall serve him as interpreter and confessor of all the Christians. Father Morandi made his profession of the four vows in the month of December last. The two Fathers get on very well, and, with the grace of God, and thanks to their virtue, they live in the greatest peace which it is possible to desire....'



Catholicism in the East Indies in 1680-81. From the Latin of Fr. A. Thomas, S.J. (Siam, Oct. 30, 1681).

Edited and translated

By THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

The Latin text which we publish and translate here was privately printed for the first time in *Catalogus Sociorum et Officiorum Missionis Bombayensis et Poonensis Provinciæ Germaniæ, S.J., Mense Majo 1910*, Bombay Examiner Press, 1910, pp. 27-38. It comes from among the MSS. belonging to the Society of Jesus in Europe. The original letter of Fr. Anthony Thomas appears to have been in Latin: for we have other Latin autograph letters of his from China.

Fr. C. Vrithoff, S.J., St. Mary's College, Kurseong, placed at my disposal recently a MS. copy of a similar letter, transcribed by himself and a friend on a copy made by the late Fr. Alphonse Lallemand, S.J., from a text in the Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Fonds Jésuitique, Province Flandro-Belge, Carton Nos. 1162-1170. Fr. Lallemand, S.J., dated his copy June 3, 1912. On Fr. Lallemand's copy Fr. H. Bosmans, S.J., noted that he had a photograph (No. 154, in his collection) of what he calls the original belonging to the Society of Jesus. He also gave it as his opinion that the addressee of the letter was the Provincial of Gaule-Belgique. By means of Fr. Bosmans' photograph, corrections were made on the copy belonging to Fr. Vrithoff.

The Bombay text has its flaws. The editor did not always succeed in deciphering the writing. The Brussels text, which appears to be also original, at times omits parts of the Bombay text; at times it adds. It is quite possible that Fr. Thomas wrote several copies of the same letter, to be sent by different ships, as the custom was, to one or more persons. It is not impossible, too, that the photograph in Fr. Bosmans' collection belongs to another text than the Bombay one: for Fr. Bosmans thought the addressee of the text in his photograph was the Provincial of Gaule-Belgique, whereas we might think that the original of the Bombay text was first addressed to the Duchess of Aveyro at Salamanca. Moreover, Fr. Vrithoff tells me that if the photograph shown him by Fr. Bosmans had contained

Editorial Note: This paper was received in 1930 but for various reasons it remained unattended before the death of the author. It is now published in its original form, and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the Philological Secretary, has revised the proofs.—B. G.

the many variants noted in the Bombay text, he would not have failed to note them.

With the help of the Brussels text all the place-names in the Bombay text have become intelligible, and everything of value is clear. We offer the Bombay text as our own, indicating at foot the chief variants in the Brussels text (indicated as Brux.).

Anthony Thomas, son of Philip Thomas, 'procureur' to the Council of Namur, and of Marie Derhet, was born at Namur on March 25, 1644, and entered at Tournai the Novitiate of the Gallo-Belgian Province of the Society of Jesus on September 24, 1660. He left Lisbon for China on April 3, 1680, and arrived at Goa on September 26, 1680. Only in June 1681 did he embark for the Further East. The voyage to Yuthia, capital of Siam, lasted 3½ months, which, as his letter suggests, would show that he landed at different places on the way. We know, for instance, that he had gone first as far as Malacca, and that the unseaworthy state of the ship taking him to Macao made them steer back to Siam. He was still in Siam on February 22, 1682, on which date he observed an eclipse of the moon. We find him in China on December 20, 1682. His life as one of the Emperor's mathematicians till his death at Pekin, on July 29, 1709, belongs to the history of the China Missions.

I borrow these few biographical notes from two excellent articles by Père Henri Bosmans, S.J., of Brussels. The first is *Lettre inédite d' Antoine Thomas, missionnaire belge en Chine au XVII-e siècle*, cf. *Missions Belges*, Bruxelles, 1908, pp. 12-23; 60-65; 117. The letter, a copy, in French, is dated Goa, November 28, 1680. The second, *Lettre du P. Antoine Thomas, S.J., datée de Péking, le 8 Sept., 1688*, appeared in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, I, pp. 36-42. I have only the *Separat-abdruck*, which is undated. This second letter, an autograph, is in Latin.

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling,
24-4-1930.

(P. 27.) Status Indiae Orientalis a. 1681,
descriptus a P. Thomas, missionario in regno Siamensi.¹

Ex quo Hollandi in hunc Orientem penetrarunt, longe

(P. 27.) State of East India in the year 1681,
described by Fr. Thomas, a Missionary in the Kingdom of Siam.

From the time that the Hollanders penetrated into this

¹ Brux.: scriptus a P. Antonio Thoma, missionario Gallo-Belga, ex Siam 30 octobris 1681.

alius tum Religionis tum Lusitanæ potentiaæ status existit; ubi enim Bataviam suae monarchiæ caput erexerunt, illato Lusitanis bello quorum tunc summa erat in Oriente potentia, multa eis munita et celebria loca favente sibi hostium inter se invidia ac divisione eripuerunt. Etenim Malacam, insulam Ceilanam, Cochinum, Cranganorem, et Cananorem (nunc loca munitissima) occuparunt. Deinde eorum hortatu et auxilio urbs S. Thomæ, vulgo Melliapor dicta, capta est a rege Colgonda Saraceno, et ut sibi orae Coromandel præcipuum commercium usurparent, Paliacatam arcem munitissimam erexere; ita modo totum fere commercium Hollandis ad se trahentibus, vix quidquam superest in Oriente Lusitanis; nam aliunde rex Persarum Armutiam¹ abstulit, et Rex Arabiæ Moscatam aliasque eiusdem littoris arces, cum quo etiamnum continuum bellum gerunt. Insuper rex Canara arcem Lusitanam in Barcelor et in Mangelor expugnavit destruxitque, et rex Calecuti arcem celebrem quæ erat in Chale prope Calecutum, ita ut nihil modo supersit Lusitaniæ nisi Goa, Macaum, Diu,² Daman, Baçaim, Chaul, item in littore Africae Mozambicum, Mombaza et Soffalla arces munitæ, quibus insuper addi poterunt insulæ Timor, et Solor quæ

East, the state both of Religion and of the Portuguese power is very different from what it was; for, after they had made Batavia the capital of their domination, they waged war on the Lusitanians, whose power in the East was then in its zenith, and took from them, thanks to the mutual jealousies and divisions of their enemies, many strong and famous places. They occupied Malacca, the Island of Ceilan, Cochin, Cranganor and Cananor (places now most strongly fortified). Then, at their instigation and with their help, the town of St. Thomas, commonly called Melliapor, was taken by the King of Colgonda,¹ a Saracen, and in order to usurp the chief trade of the Coromandel Coast, they erected at Paliacata² a very strong fortress. Hence, as at present the Hollanders are diverting nearly all the commerce to themselves, the Lusitanians have hardly anything left in the East. In fact, elsewhere the King of Persia took from them Armus (*Ormuz*), and the King of Arabia seized Moscat (Mascot) and other fortresses on the same coast, and they are still continually at war with him. Moreover, the King of Canara captured and destroyed the Lusitanian fortress at Barcelor and Mangelor; and the King of Calicut, the famous stronghold which was

¹ Brux.: Armusiam.

² Brux.: Arces Diu (= the fortresses of Diu).

¹ Golconda.

² Pulicat, near Madras.

infra Javam ac Molucas jacent ad meridiem.

Nec minus diversa est a veteri Religionis facies; nam e locis ab Hollandio occupatis expulsi sunt omnes Religiosi ac Sacerdotes, et grex Christianorum omni pastore destitutus, in Arabia vero et Armutia extincta est Christianae fidei memoria, et in Japonia ita clausum sacerdotibus iter ut ab annis plus quam 40 nemini prorsus eo penetrare licuerit. Igitur Societas nostra praeterquam quod suas in Japonia sedes amisit,¹ insuper Collegium in Tutucurim cum Seminario, in Columbo, Jasanapan (vel Jafanapan),² Manaria insula, Coulani, Cochini, Cranganore,³ Armuziae, Malacae et Ternatae ac Macassariae perdidit (P. 28) praeter Residentias in Chale,

at Chale¹ near Calecut. The result is that now the Lusitanians have nothing left them but Goa, Macao (*Macaum*), Diu, Daman, Baçaim and Chaul; they have also, on the African Coast, Mozambique, Mombaza and Soffalla, fortified places; to these may be added the islands of Timor and Solor, which lie to the south, below Java and the Molucas.

Nor is the state of Religion less different from what is used to be. From the places occupied by the Hollanders all the Religious and Priests have been expelled, and the Christian flock has been left without any shepherd. As for Arabia and Armus (*Ormuz*), the memory of the Christian faith is there extinguished; and the road to Japan is so blocked against the Priests that not one has been able to penetrate for more than 40 years. Therefore, our Society has lost, besides her residences in Japan, the College of Tutucurim² with the Seminary, Colombo, Jasanapan (or Jafanapan),³ with the island of Manar, Coulan,⁴ Cochin, Cranganore, Armuz, Malaca, Ternate and

¹ Brux.: praeter sedes quas in Japonia amisit.

² Brux.: Colombo, Jafanapatam, Manaria.

³ Brux.: Cochini cum Seminario, in Cranganor.

¹ Chale.—Not to be confused with Chaul, near Bombay. See different spelling in Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*, II. 451, s.v. Chiliate, and see Yule-Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Chalia.

² Tuticorin.

³ The copyist (or the editor?) of the Bombay text hesitated between Jasanapan and Jafanapan, owing, we think, to the similarity between *s* and *f* in old writings. Such hesitation cannot be exhibited in Fr. Thomas' original.

⁴ *Ceilani*, in the Bombay text, cannot hold, as Colombo, Jaffna and Manar precede and close the list. Coulan is Quilon.

Cananor, Barcelor, Mangelor aliisque locis.

Divisa est Societas nostra in India intra Gangem in duas provincias olim admodum copiosas quae multa collegia numerabant, alia Goana, alia Cochinesis dicebatur. Cochinitum studia aliora tum Novitiatus erat ad subministrandos huic provinciae missionarios; nunc vero provincia Malabarica nullum habest Collegium nisi Ambalacatae prope Cochinum ubi quinque aut sex 5 subditi ar habitant, et Seminarium est indigenarum sacerdotum. Goana vero provincia praeter domum Professam Collegium et Novitiatum Goanum, habet Collegium Salsetanum sive Racholense, in Chaul, Baçaim, Daman, Agra apud Mogores, Diu et Mosambic.

Et hoc generatim:¹ modo de singulis partibus agetur.

De India intra Indum et Gangem.

India Orientalis intra Indum and Gangem aliter modo quam olim dividitur. Rex Mogorum Mahometanus Bengalam suae ditioni et Cambaiam adjecit.

Macassar; (P. 28.) also the residences in Chale, Cananor, Barcelor, Mangelor,¹ and other places.

In India, below the Ganges, our Society is divided into two provinces, both of which were formerly very numerous and had many colleges; one was called the Province of Goa; the other, of Cochin. At Cochin there was a house of higher studies and a Novitiate which supplied that Province with Missionaries; now the Malabar Province has no College, except at Ambalacata,² near Cochin, where 5 or 6 subjects live, and where is a Seminary of native priests. Besides the Professed House, the College, and the Novitiate, at Goa, the Province of Goa has the College of Salsete or of Rachol, and (houses) at Chaul, Baçaim, Daman, Agra among the Mogores, Diu and Mosambique.

This in general. Now I shall speak of the several parts.

Of India between the Indus and the Ganges.

East India between the Indus and the Ganges is now divided otherwise than before. The King of the Mogores, a Mahometan, has added to his

¹ Brux.: Haec generatim.

¹ Barcelor.—See old spellings in Yule's *Cathay*, II. 451: *ibid.*, ditto, for Mangalar; for Cananor, cf. II. 453; for Cranganor, II. 455. See also *Hobson-Jobson*. Chale is not Chaul, near Bombay, but Chale near Calicut.

² Ambalacata.—For its position see Paulins a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Roma, 1794, map facing p. 235. We find there in close proximity such well-known places of Malabar Catholic history as Verapoli, Parur, Chenota, Ambalacata, Angamali, Alangatte (or Mangatte). This map, to which we shall refer again, exhibits the Catholic settlements of Canara, Malabar, Madura, Mysore, the Carnatic, and Tanjore.

Rex Sauagi abstulit Regi Visapor omnes terras quae sunt a Surata usque ad regnum Canarae inter mare et montes quae Indiam a septentrione usque ad Comorinum promontorium excurrentes dividunt. Hoc novum regnum erexit quidam latro qui a paucis annis¹ mortuus est; alterum regnum his ultimis annis erectum est nomine Mossur quod a regno Canara usque ad Madure per mediterranea Indiae se extendit. Item regnum Gingi a regno Visapor separatum est, uti et Colgonda, hoc a Mahometano pridem, illud a fratre Sauagi recenter occupatum possidetur.

Ora Malabarica a regno Canara usque ad promontorium a pluribus regibus possidetur quorum praecipua sunt in Cananor, Calicut Cochin et Travancore, ultra promontorium sequitur regnum Madure per amplum et Tangeor quod modo ab altero fratre regis Sauagi occupatur.

power Bengala and Cambaia.¹ From Surat² to the kingdom of Canara, King Sauagi³ snatched from the King of Visapor⁴ all the country lying between the sea and the mountains which, running from the north to Cape Comorin, divide India.⁵ This new kingdom was built up by a certain robber, who died not many years ago;⁶ the other kingdom, called Mossur,⁷ was created these last years and extends through the inland portions of India from the kingdom of Canara up to Madure. Similarly, the Kingdom of Gingi⁸ has become separated from the Kingdom of Visapor, as also Colgonda;⁹ the latter was formerly occupied by a Mahometan who holds it; the former was recently taken possession of by Sauagi's brother.

The Malabar Coast, from the kingdom of Canara up to the Cape, is ruled over by several kings; the chief ones are in Cananor, Calicut, Cochin, and Travancore. Beyond the promontory, comes the very vast kingdom of Madure and Tangeor,¹⁰ which is now held by King Sauagi's other brother.

¹ Brux.: qui paucis annis.

¹ Cambay.—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Cambay.

² Bombay text: Surata; *Brux.*: Surrata.

³ Shivaji.

⁴ Vijaipur, Bijapur.

⁵ 'Omnes terras quae sunt . . . inter mare et montes quae Indiam . . . dividunt' (Bombay and *Brux.*). We propose: 'montes qui . . . dividunt.'

⁶ Sivaji died in 1680.

⁷ Mossur.—Elsewhere, we have twice Massur, for our Mysore.

⁸ Gingee.

⁹ Golconda.

¹⁰ Tanjore.

Apud Mogores pauci sunt Christiani, habitantes in urbe Agra, Lahor et Delli, in qua ultima urbe rex modo habitat. Agrae Societas habet Collegium; pauci ibidem ad fidem convertuntur, infideles metu Mahometanorum qui ibi imperant¹ et a quibustributis vexantur,² plures ab Idolis ad impurum Mahometam (*P. 29*) transeunt.

In Surata quae est emporium celebre Mogorum, domicilium habent PP. Capuchini, sed plerique Christiani sunt Europaei qui in eo portu ex omni natione sunt valde frequentes.

In urbe Diu pauci sunt indigenae Christiani, plerique ac mercatores praecipue sunt infideles qui etiam fanum habent intra moenia.

Circum urbem Daman, Baçaim et Chaul non pauci sunt vici Christianorum in Insulis quas fluvii efficiunt iique aunt sub Lusitanorum potestate, praeter insulam Bombaim qui pulcherrimus portus est modo Anglorum, traditus pro parte dotis Reginae Catharinae.

Inter mediterranea istius littoris Indiae ubi rex Sauagi dominatur fere omnes sunt gentiles et pauci Saraceni.

Among the Mogores, there are few Christians. They live in the towns of Agra, Lahor and Delhi, in which last city the King now resides. At Agra the Society has a college; few are there converted to the faith; for fear of the Mahometans, who rule there and vex them with taxes, many heathens pass from Idols to Mahomet (*ad impurum Mahometam*).

(*P. 29.*) At Surat, a famous mart of the Mogores, the Capuchin Fathers have a house, but the greater number of the Christians are Europeans of all nationalities, very many of whom live in that port.

In the town of Diu there are few indigenous Christians; the greater number (of the inhabitants), especially the merchants, are infidels, and they have even a temple within the city walls.

Around the towns of Daman, Baçaim and Chaul there are not a few Christian villages in the Islands formed by the rivers;¹ these are under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese, with the exception of the island of Bombaim, a most beautiful harbour lately given to the English as part of Queen Catherine's dowry.

In the inland parts, along that coast of India where king Sauagi reigns, nearly all are heathens, few (*pauci*) being Saracens.

¹ Brux.: ibi imperantium.

² Brux.: omits: et a quibus vexantur.

¹ One of the chief islands was Salsette of Bombay.

Goae ac in insulis ac peninsulis adjacentibus quae omnes et solae ibi sunt ditiosis Lusitanae omnes fere indigenae sunt Christiani; in illis locis adjacentibus Goae visuntur pulchra templa et pretiosa suppellectili ornata non secus ac in Europae urbibus; parochias quae sunt in Salsetis tenebant patres nostri Provinciae Goanae;¹ verum persecutione excitata ab Archiepiscopo nuper defuncto eas deserere coacti sunt; nunc iubente Ser.mo Principe restituentur quando A.R.P.M.² consentiet. In urbe Goana plerique mechanici et mercatores Indi externi sunt et infideles ita, ut Goae fere tot infideles aut Mahometani numerentur quot Christiani.

Difficultas eos convertendi uti et alios infideles Indiae hujus³ est triplex.

Prima est quod dum fiunt Christiani suum gradum et genus amittant, adeoque maximo contemptui ab omnibus aliis infidelibus habeantur; est enim in India varium hominum

At Goa, and in the adjacent islands and peninsulas, all of which are now the only ones there under the Portuguese crown, nearly all the natives are Christians. In the places adjacent to Goa, are to be seen fine churches supplied with precious ornaments, just as in the towns of Europe. Our Fathers of the Province of Goa were in charge of the parishes of the Salsete parts; but, owing to a persecution caused by the late Archbishop, they were obliged to relinquish them;¹ by order of His Most Serene Majesty² they will now be restored when our Most Reverend Father³ consents. In the town of Goa the greater number of the Indian craftsmen and merchants are pagans from without, so that at Goa there are almost as many pagans and Mahometans as Christians.

There are three difficulties in the way of converting them, as also the other infidels of this India.

The first: when they become Christians, they lose their status and caste (*genus*), and are therefore held in the greatest contempt by all the other infidels. People in India are

¹ Brux.: Omits: Provinciae Goanae.

² Brux.: R. Adm. P.N.

³ Brux.: omits: uti et . . . Indiae hujus.

¹ The Archbishop was Antonio Brandão, former Abbot General of the Cistercians, 13th Archbishop of Goa. Arrived at Goa, September 24, 1675. The see had been vacant 23 years. Took charge on October 9, 1675, and died on July 6, 1678. On him and the differences between him and the Jesuit Missionaries of the Salsette peninsula, cf. Padre Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth's *Mitras Lusitanas*, 2a edição, Lisboa, 1897, p. 176 et sqq., p. 184.

² The King of Portugal.

³ The General of the Society of Jesus.

genus; alii origine sunt Bramanes alii Naires sive milites, alii certae artis artifices: ex quo quisque genere nascitur in eo vitam exercet, In servando autem isto gradu adeo sunt superstitiosi ut nec ipse¹ Xaverius in illo tractu Indiae Malabarico alios fere non² converterit nisi piscatores ad ripam maris quam plurimos, et intra Piscaria Paravas qui illis superstitiosis observationibus non sunt impliciti.

Secunda est summa ad libidinem propensio quae (*P. 30*) tanta est et cum tali licentia apud Malabares ut ipsae uxores palam communes³ sint atque ipsaemet Reginae allis permittantur, indulgentibus idipsum regibus ipsarum maritis; hinc apud illos regni haeres nunquam est filius regis utpote incertus, sed filius sororis ejus quod perpetuo⁴ observatur.

Tertia est avaritia plane incredibilis⁵ qua illis videtur impossibile abstinere a fraudibus et aliena restituere.

Quae quidem impedimenta adeo gravia sunt ut miraculo sit opus ad alicuius conver-

of different classes; some are Bramans by origin; others, Naires or soldiers; others are craftsmen of a certain class; each one lives according to the caste in which he was born, and they are so superstitious in keeping that caste that, in the Malabar tract of India, Xavier himself converted hardly any others than fishermen, a very large number of whom he won over along the sea-coast, and Paravas of the Fishery Coast who are free from those superstitious observances.

The second is the very great propensity to lustfulness, which (*P. 30*) is so great and so free among the Malabares that the very wives are openly common property, and the Queens themselves are granted to others, the Kings their husbands allowing this indulgence; hence, among them, the heir-apparent is never the King's son, his origin being doubtful, but the son of the King's sister.¹ And this they always observe.

The third is their quite incredible greed, which makes it seem to them an impossibility to abstain from fraud and restore ill-gotten goods.

These obstacles are so great that a miracle is required to convert any of them, except

¹ Brux.: ne ipse quidem.

² Brux.: omits: non.

³ Brux.: palam omnino communes.

⁴ Brux.: perpetuo apud ipsos.

⁵ Brux.: omits: plane incredibilis.

¹ The allusion is to the polyandric customs and the matriarchate of the Nairs of Malabar.

sionem nisi sit forte ex infima sorte qui vitam labore sustentent.¹

In regno Canara pauci sunt Christiani qui ab uno alterove sacerdote indigena excoluntur, nominatim² in Barcelor et Mangelor locisque vicinis; ibi uti et in aliis locis Indiae intra Gangem liberum est³ cuiusque religionis exercitium publiceque non minus⁴ Christo temple quam fana idolis et Mahometi eriguntur nemine repugnante.

In regno Cananor quod priori finitimum est, pauci sunt Christiani et nunc sine pastore propter Hollandos.

In regno Calecuti sive Sanmurin templum est Christianis in urbe primaria cum suo parocho uti et in Tanor oppido tributario; hic et in aliis vicinis oppidis pauci Christiani sunt quorum curam habet Pater Societatis habitans in Tanor, cum quo oppido et Goa frequentissimum est commercium exiguis Indigenarum navigiis a mense Octobri usque ad Maium, nam alio tempore mare hoc Indicum non est navigabile ob ventorum saevitiam.

perhaps those of the lowest caste, people of the labouring class.

In the kingdom of Canara there are few Christians; they are ministered to by one or other native priest, namely at Barcelor and Mangelor and the neighbourhood. There, as in the other parts of India within the Ganges, each one is free to practise his religion, and no one objects that temples should publicly be erected to Christ as well as temples to the idols and to Mahomet.

In the kingdom of Cananor, which borders on the former, there are a few (*pauci*) Christians, but now they are without a pastor, owing to the Hollanders.

In the kingdom of Calecut, or of the Sanmurin,¹ the Christians have a church and a parish-priest at the capital; also at Tanor, a tributary town; here, and in some neighbouring towns, there are a few Christians tended by a Father of the Society living at Tanor, between which town and Goa there is a very brisk trade carried on by small native boats between October and May, for this Indian sea is not navigable during the other months on account of the violence of the winds.

¹ Brux.: omits: nisi sit forte . . . sustentent.

² Brux.: omits: nominatim.

³ Brux.: aliisque locis vicinis intra Gangem liberum est.

⁴ Brux.: exercitium et non minus.

¹ Sanmurin.—A new 'Hobson-Jobson'. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Zamorin.

Ab oppido Panane peramplo et in quo habitare solet rex Calecuti, usque Cochinum in multis oppidis sunt Christiani Catholici quorum curam habent sacerdotes indigenae.

In locis mediterraneis praesertim¹ intra montes, versus oppidum S. Mariae maioris longe lateque diffusi sunt Christiani, partim Catholici partim Schismatici,² eo enim jam pridem schisma³ irrepsit fraude quorundam Sacerdotum Alexandrinorum qui eo pridem se intruserunt et per illos montes⁴ late suos errores propagarunt, neque hactenus ullum remedium contra illud valuit. Olim istorum⁵ montium Episcopus esse solebat e nostra Societate; verum amota Societate (P. 31) eo ingressi sunt Missionarii de Propaganda⁶ existimantes mostra incuria lentius remedium adferri creatusque est episcopus indigena qui in hoc officio⁷ ita se gessit ut permulti tum ex Europaeis tum ex indigenis nullo modo deinceps indigenas episcopos ibi

From Panane, a very big town¹ where the king of Calecut usually resides, up to Cochin, there are in many towns Catholic Christians ministered to by indigenous priests.

In the inland tracts, especially in the mountains,² towards the town of St. Mary Major,³ the Christians, partly Catholics partly Schismatics, are scattered very widely. Some time back, schism was implanted there through the craft of some priests of Alexandria,⁴ who formerly intruded there and sowed their errors broadcast among those mountains, and no remedy has so far availed against it. Formerly, the Bishop of those mountains used to be of our Society; but, when the Society was removed (P. 31), Missionaries of the Propaganda entered there,⁵ who thought that, if the remedy had worked too slowly, it was due to our carelessness. A native Bishop was appointed; but he acted in such a way that very many, not only Europeans, but natives too, would say that in

¹ Brux.: mediterraneis et.

² Brux.: Christiani Catholici, et Schismatici.

³ Brux.: et schisma jam pridem.

⁴ Brux.: omits: per illos montes.

⁵ Brux.: horum (for: istorum).

⁶ Brux.: omits: de propaganda.

⁷ Brux.: omits: in hoc officio.

¹ Panane.—For other spellings see Yule's *Cathay*, II. 454, s.v. Panane.

² 'Intra Montes.' We might have translated by the well-known Portuguese term 'the Serra.'

³ St. Mary Major, i.e. the Church of Kuravalangad.

⁴ I cannot decide from the *jampridem* and *pridem* whether Fr. Thomas thinks of the period before 1599, or of the period from 1653, when a schism took place and Jacobite priests came into the country. In either case, the word 'Alexandrian' is surprising.

⁵ The Carmelites.

esse creandos dictitarent.¹ Deinde nunc senex omnibus artibus² contendit ut nepos suus sibi coadjutor eligeretur, vir ad id ineptus; verum meliore electione assumptus est Coadjutor D. Raphael Lusitanus, cui proinde a lter licet senio omnino incapax omnem jurisdictionem sustulit, ut consecratus episcopus quidem ab alio nunc habitet in Chenotte³ privatus, ubi⁴ mihi dixit sincere se dolere amotam a cultura montium Soc^{em} nostram;⁵ jam satis patere si quod sit possibile remedium schismati, ab illa⁶ potissimum adferri posse; ita temporum experientia malam de Soc^{te} opinionem ibi quidem discussit et vertit in maiorem aestimationem ac desiderium;⁷ utinam Romae⁸ sinceriores darentur de ea informationes; sane cognosceretur non sine admirations⁹ quantopere Societas in missionibus laborum

future no native Bishops should on any account be created there. An old man now, the Bishop tried in every way to get chosen as his coadjutor his own nephew, a man unfit for the office. A better choice being made, Dom Raphael, a Portuguese, was taken as his coadjutor; but, the other, although quite incapacitated by old age, took all jurisdiction from him; he was, however, consecrated Bishop by another,¹ and is now living in retirement (*privatus*) at Chenotte,² where he told me he sincerely regretted that the Society had been excluded from cultivating those mountains; and that it was sufficiently plain by now that, if anything could be done to remedy the schism, the Society could best do it; so then, time and experience have, there at least, corrected people's bad opinion about the Society,

¹ Brux.: ut evidenter constaret Europeis et Indigenis nullo modo indigenas Epis opus ibi deinceps esse creandas, utpote istius dignitatis incapaces.

² Brux.: omits: omnibus artibus.

³ Brux.: Chenote.

⁴ Brux.: qui (for: ubi).

⁵ Brux.: omits: sincere se . . . nostram.

⁶ Brux.: a Societate.

⁷ Brux.: omits: ita temporum . . . desiderium.

⁸ Brux.: utinam et Romae.

⁹ Brux.: omits: non sine admiratione.

¹ Cf. Paulinus & S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orient. Christiana*, op. cit., pp. 77-78. Alexander de Campos, or Chandy Parambil, of Corolongatta; created Bishop, January 31, 1663. The date of his death, 1676, in Paulinus, is a mistake. His nephew was Matthew de Campos. His coadjutor, D. Raphael de Figueredo Salgado, a native of Cochin, was elected on March 3, 1677, by 4 Carmelites. He was consecrated by Don Thomas de Castro, Bishop Fulcivitisensis, a native of Goa.

² Chenota—Vaipicota—Terra Nova. Cf. Lopez (1644), p. 9, by which we refer to *A short account of the Missions under the charge of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the Malabar Province in the East Indies* (Trichinopoly, 1909, edited by the Rev. Fr. L. Besse, S.J.). Chenota was a village quite near to Vaipicota.

tolerantia, prudentia agendi et aedificatione antecellat.

Sane quidam missionarius nomine Fr. Mathaeus, Ord. S. Theresiae, ubi Tuticurini¹ vidit non solum² perfectionem qua linguam illius patriae nostri loquebantur, sed³ insuper sedecim libros non parvos impressos lingua et caractere Madurensi typis in Europa fabricatis quibus partim confutabantur funditus gentilium istorum errores partim⁴ stabiliebatur Religio Catholica, percussus stupore ait, neminem praeter Societatem res tam arduas moliri posse et tanto conatu missiones aggredi:⁵ et vero hoc possum asserere tum ex iis quae vidi, tum quae ex indigenis ipsisque Hollandis cognovi,⁶ quodsi conferrentur ea quae geruntur a Societate in Indiis cum iis quae de illa Romae dicuntur, rix etiam

and made them esteem her better and wish for her more. Would that at Rome truer accounts were given about her! They would then know, and not without admiration, how the Society excels in the Missions by her activity, the prudence of her policy, and the edification she gives.

In fact, when a certain Missionary, named Friar Mathaeus, of the Order of St. Theresa,¹ had come to Tuticurin and saw not only the perfection with which our people spoke the language of that country, but moreover sixteen books—and no small ones—printed, with type made in Europe, in the language and character of Madure,² some of which refuted the errors of those pagans, while others proved the truth of the Catholic Religion, he said, struck with wonder, that the Society alone could manage such difficult things and undertake Missions with so much spirit. And, from what I saw and heard from the natives and the Hollanders themselves, I can truly assert this, that, were the doings of the Society in

¹ Brux.: omits Tuticurini (which probably should have been read: Tutucurini, as elsewhere).

² Brux.: omits: non solum.

³ Brux.: et (for: sed).

⁴ Brux.: confutabantur gentilium illorum errores et.

⁵ Brux.: omits: et tanto . . . aggredi.

⁶ Brux.: omits: tum ex iis quae vidi . . . cognovi.

¹ Fr. Matthaeus a S. Joseph, the great friend of Hendrik Adrian van Rheede, Governor of Cochin, who helped him to publish his botanical researches, *Hortus Malabaricus*, Amsterdam, 1678, 9 vols. He died at Cochin, and was buried at Verapoli in 1691. Cf. Paulinus, *op. cit.*, passim.

² I have commented in several places on this interesting passage, notably in my *Early Printing in India* (MS.). It ought to dispose of Paulinus a S. Barth's contention that the printing of Ambalacata was block-printing.

quivis inimicus sibi a lacrymis temperaret; utinam in hoc ad nostros infensissimos¹ hostes scilicet. Haereticos Hollandos recurreretur, quorum quidem honorificum prae omnibus² de Societate iudicium generaliter et ad stuporem cognovi³ dum inter illos occultus versarer.

Sed redeo ad institutum.

Cochini indigenae omnes quos Topazes vocant sunt Christiani intra urbem nec templum nec sacerdotem habent; in Baissim, quod est oppidum frequens⁴ in altera parte fluminis, erectum est templum parochiale eoque populus confluit ad audiendum sacrum;⁵ ibi duo tresve sacerdotes indigenae curant rem Christianam debita sane cura et diligentia;⁶ circum Cochinum sunt aliquot parochiae cum sacerdotibus indigenis uti et in pluribus oppidis quae sunt Cochinum et Coulanum.

India compared with what is said of her in Rome, scarcely anyone, even of her enemies, could refrain from tears. Would to God that in this matter the opinion of our worst enemies, the heretical Hollanders, were asked! While I was among them *incognito*, I heard them express about the Society generally a high opinion, and I was dumb-founded.¹

But return to my theme.

(P. 32.) At Cochin, all the natives whom they call Topazes² are Christians; within the town, they have neither church nor priest; at Vaipim, a populous town on the other side of the river, a parochial church has been built, and the people flock thither to hear Mass; there, two or three native priests with due zeal take care of the Christians. Around Cochin there are some parishes with native priests, as in several towns, namely Cochin and Coulan (Quilon). The Discalced Carmelite Fathers have

¹ Brux.: omits: infensissimos.

² Brux.: prae omnibus est.

³ Brux.: cognovi hoc.

⁴ Brux.: In Paipim. oppido frequenti.

⁵ Brux.: omits: eoque . . . sacrum.

⁶ Brux.: omits: debita . . . diligentia.

¹ On Dec. 20, 1682, Father A. Thomas dates from Macao his *Apologia Societatis Jesu* . . . , justifying the conduct of the Jesuits in the conflict of jurisdiction between the Bishops of the propaganda and the Archbishop of Goa. Cf. *Missions Belges*, 1908, p. 13, n. 3.

² The Topazes here are pure natives. It is worth remarking. Manrique too calls Topazes the pure native Christians of Arakan (1630-35). Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo was right, in spite of Yule's opinion in *Hobson-Jobson*, when he said that *topaz* means *do-bhāshiyā*=two-tongued, a man speaking two languages, an interpreter. That does not mean that the whole class of our native Christians in the 17th century could speak Portuguese; but there were more among them relatively who could than among the non-Christians.

PP. Carmelitae¹ discalceati domicilium habant Veraple, inde ad missionem hinc inde excurrunt, etenim praeterquam intra urbem² nihil iuris obtinent Hollandi, sed tota regio est in potestate regum indigenarum quorum nihil omnino³ interest quam quis religionem aequatur. Coulani, quod oppidum amplissimum est, adjacens arci Hollandorum, sub variorum regum indigenarum potestate divisum, multi sunt Christiani; ibi tria sunt templa: scilicet parochiale, Franciscanum et Societatis, e qua is qui assistit curam insuper habet Christianorum qui per varia vicina oppida dispersi sunt; inde ex ora tota Travancoridis jam pridem Hollandi conati sunt Societatem expellere; verum illis frustra conantibus opera indigenarum regum hactenus permansit et modo odio in familiaritatem verso illos honorifice tractant et modo⁴ cum illis tum ibi tum in ora piscaria optime conveniunt, virtutem etiam⁵ in hoste laudantes.

In regno Travancoridis tota ora maris a Coulano usque ad Comorinum promotorium referta est Christianorum templis quae passim visuntur in littore erecta. Christiananorum circiter 20 milia in illo tractu

a house at Veraple,¹ whence they go out on Missions in different directions, for the Hollanders have no authority except within the town, the whole country being subject to native kings, to whom it matters not which religion one follows. At Coulan, a very big town adjacent to the fortress of the Hollanders and subject to different native kings, there are many Christians; there are three churches there: the parochial church, that of the Franciscans, and that of the Society, the Father (of the Society) who lives there, taking care besides of the Christians scattered in various towns of the neighbourhood. The Hollanders have long tried to expel the Society from the whole Travancor Coast, but in vain. Thanks to the assistance of the native kings, it is there still, and, hatred having changed to friendship, they (the Hollanders) now treat Ours with honour, agree well with them, both there and on the Fishery Coast, and even praise virtue in an enemy.

In the kingdom of Travancore, the whole sea-coast from Coulan up to Cape Comorin is dotted with Christian churches, which are seen erected here and there along the coast. The Christians of that tract

¹ Brux.: uti et in pluribus oppidis PP. Carmelitae.

² Brux.: excurrunt. Extra urbem.

³ Brux.: omits: omnino.

⁴ Brux.: omits: modo.

⁵ Brux.: omits: etiam.

¹ Verapoli.

numerantur¹ quorum curam habent sex PP. nostri' eorum residentia est in Mopoeli, Retora, Canapatam, Topo et Menacori;² inde ad alia oppida tum ad ripam maris tum in mediterranea³ excurrunt, in urbe Regia quae Laicolara dicitur uti et in Travancor erectum est templum, verum ibi et in Travancor, aliis oppidis⁴ nullus nobilis inter Christianos numerator, sed solum pauperes, quorum scl. est regnum Dei: in oppido Cotat mercat ura celebri extat imago Xaverii quae tam frequentibus (*P. 33*) miraculis illustris est⁵ ut undequaque non solum Christiani sed et infideles eo concurrant, in quorum gratiam etiam interdum Xaverius miracula facere non dedignatur;⁶ in toto illo regno licet apud omnes atque etiam apud regem patres nostri sint admodum bene accepti et magno in honore⁷ suoque impigre munere funguntur, tamen pauci de novo transcunt ab idolis ad Christum.

number about twenty thousand. Six of our Fathers have charge of them; their residences are at Mopoeli, Retora, Canapatam, Topo and Menacori;¹ from there they visit other towns along the seaboard and inland. In the capital, which is called Laicolara,² as well as in Travancor, a church has been built; but there, as also in the other towns, there is not one man of rank among the Christians, but only poor people, for theirs is the kingdom of God.³ In the town of Cotat,⁴ famous for its trade, there is an image of Xavier, which is renowned for so many miracles that (*P. 33*) people visit it from all sides, not only the Christians, but the pagans too, and Xavier does not disdain working at times wonders in their favour also. Although our Fathers are very popular throughout that kingdom with people of all ranks and the king himself, and although they are held in great honour and labour zealously, yet few new converts are won over from idolatry to Christ.

¹ Brux.: omits: quae passim visuntur . . . erecta.

² Brux.: Mapaaoli, Retora, Cariapatnam, Toporet, et Manacori.

³ Brux.: omits: tum ad ripam . . . mediterranaa.

⁴ Brux.: omits: et in aliis oppidis.

⁵ Brux.: Xaverii tantis miraculis illustris ut.

⁶ Brux.: in quorum etiam gratiam Xaverius interdum miracula facit.

⁷ Brux.: omits: et magno in nonore.

¹ Paulinus' map facing p. 235, *op. cit.*, has: Mampulli, Puntora (Retora?), Cariapatnam, Pullatopo, Mannacudi. See Lopez, *op. cit.*, (1644), s.v. Mampulim, Reytor, Cariapatnam, Manancury, pp. 9-13.

² Laicolara. Perhaps: Raicolara. Might it be Ragiaccallamangalam of Paulinus' map, between Pullatopo and Mannacudi?

³ Matth. V. 3.

⁴ The Cottage of Paulinus' map.

A Comorino promontorio usque ad Tutucurinum excurrit ora Piscaria quae est regni Madure; omnia eius oppida ad ripam maris habitant Paravae, Christiani imnes, qui a pastoribus nostris circiter 10 excoluntur; in toto illo tractu facile 60 Christianorum milia numerantur et in illo¹ solo Tutucurino plus quam 20 milia. Fx tota illa ora expulerant Hollandi nostros patres, qui proinde² in vicinas silvas et oppida gentilium se receperunt, sub gentilium ipsorum protectione ibidem tuti,³ a quibus in honore habentur; ibi extracto sacello sedem fixerant et ad sacrum audiendum omnibus diebus magnus erat Paravarum confluxus, noctu vero habitu Maurorum per littora discurrebant ad conferenda aegris sacramenta. Verum a biennio D. Thomas Van He factus illius orae praefectus omnes ad pristinas ecclesias redire permisit. Caeterum destructum erat Tutucurinense collegium et aliae domus ac templa erecta fuere, sed haec ad priorum elegantiam ac⁴ magnificentiam non accedunt. Est hic praefectus vir magnae iustitiae ac probitatis, controversiarum curiosus, fortasse hac via venturus in agnitionem veritatis: illorum populorum uti et patrum etiam nostro-

From Cape Comorin up to Tutucurin runs the Fishery Coast, which belongs to the kingdom of Madure. Paravas, all Christians, live in all its towns on the sea-coast, and they are ministered to by 10 of our Missionaries. In the whole of that tract the Christians number easily sixty thousand; in Tutucurin alone there are over twenty thousand. Our Fathers had been driven from the whole of that coast by the Hollanders; accordingly, they betook themselves to the nearest woods and the towns of the pagans: there they were safe under the protection of the very pagans, by whom they are held in honour; they had built a chapel there and settled near it; large numbers of Paravas were coming daily to it to hear Mass, and at night the Fathers, disguised in Moorish dress, visited the Coast to confer the Sacraments to the sick. But, two years ago, when Mr. Thomas Van He¹ became Governor of that coast, he allowed them all to return to their former churches. The College of Tutucurin had, however, been destroyed, and new houses and churches were built, but these do not compare in beauty and magnificence with the former ones. This Governor is a man of great justice

¹ Brux.: omits: illo.

² Brux.: omits: proinde.

³ Brux.: omits: sub gentillum . . . tuti.

⁴ Brux.: omits: elegantium ac.

¹ Thomas Van He.—I have not found his name, after some research, in Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*.—Van Hee would be a good Dutch name.

rum parens, omnium bono et paci consulit patresque se crebro invisentes magno honore excipit.¹

In regno Madure, quod unum est e praecipuis Indiae, circiter 80 Christianorum milia numerantur multa per loca dispersi, ac praesertim versus urbem Madure quam cepit rex Massur 6.a. Dec. 1680; omniaque bello agitantur, nunc rege Madurensi eandem urbem obsidente, sed grave periculum est ne exercitum simul et regnum amittat. In hac missione plane laborum simul ac fructus animarum feraci versantur patres nostri; Bramanum habitu et more sacerdotum (*P.* 34) gentilium abstinere carne solaque oriza, herbis et aqua plerumque vitam sustentant; ita occulte et rege dissimulante paulatim Christi Dni fides disseminatur, partim verbo, partim libris, lingua patria et caractere impressis de quibus supra.²

In Regno Massuriam ab aliquot annis fundata est mis-

and uprightness; he is fond of controversy, and may perhaps that way come to recognize the truth; he is like a father for those people, and even for our Fathers; he fosters the general welfare and peace, and receives with much honour the Fathers, who frequently visit him.

In the kingdom of Madure, one of the chief ones of India, there are about eighty thousand Christians, scattered in many places, but especially towards the town of Madure, which the king of Massur¹ took on the 6th of December 1680. The whole country is in the turmoil of war; the king of Madure is now besieging the said town, but there is great danger of losing his army and his kingdom. Our Fathers live in this Mission, a very laborious field, and very fruitful too in conversions; they dress like the Bramans, and, after the manner of the pagan priests (*P.* 34), they abstain from meat, and live generally on rice, vegetables and water only; in this way, as the king pays no heed, they disseminate slowly and secretly the faith of Christ our Lord, partly by preaching, and partly by books printed in the language and writing of the country, as we said above.²

In the kingdom of Massur Mission was founded, now some

¹ Brux.: omits: est hic praefectus . . . excipit.

² Brux.: omits: partim verbo . . . supra.

¹ Massur = Mysore.

² Even after reading Fr. L. Besse, S.J., *La Mission du Maduré*, Trichinopoly, 1914, one finds interesting points in Fr. Thomas' passage on the Fishery Coast and Madura.

sio; tres eo missi missionarii non sine copioso fructu laborarunt, gravissimis identidem pressi persecutionibus, verum modo inita regis gratia tuti eius protectione Christianorum numerum amplificant.

In regno Tangeor¹ pauci sunt christiani versus urbem eiusdem nominis, item Negapatam, Trangambar et Talichere, quarum urbium maritimarum prima ad Hollandos, altera ad Danos, tertia ad Gallos pertinet, qui ibi sacerdotem sustentant.

Littus vero quod inter Tutucurinum et Negapatam interiacet cuius incolae Maravae dicuntur nunc adversus regem Madure rebelles, aliquas Christianorum ecclesias habet quarum iura ad patres nostros pertinent.

In regno Gingi quod a fratre regis Sauagi occupatum est nulli sunt Christiani nisi in littore maris, scilicet in Portunovo mercatura percelebri, ubi permissum est a rege templum erigi et per nsio cuidam sacerdoti indigenae Christianorum curam habenti assignata.

In regno Colgonda cui imperat rex Mahometanus aliquot sunt Christiani in urbe regia quorum curam habent PP. Augustiniani, in littore vero maris extat oppidum S. Thomae vel potius eius ruina.

years back; three Missionaries sent there laboured with no small fruit, even though repeatedly buffeted by persecutions; now they have found favour with the king, and they are adding safely, under his protection, to the number of the Christians.

In the kingdom of Tangeor there are a few Christians, in the direction of the town of the said name; also at Negapatam, Trangambar and Talichere. These are three maritime towns, the first of which belongs to the Hollanders; the second, to the Danes; and the third, to the French, who maintain a priest there.

As for the coast between Tutucurin and Negapatam, the inhabitants of which, called Maravas, are now in rebellion against the king of Madure, it has some Christian churches over which our Fathers have jurisdiction.

In the kingdom of Gingi, which a brother of king Sauagi occupied, there are no Christians, except on the sea-coast, namely at Portunovo, a very famous trading centre, where the king allowed a church to be built, and assigned a maintenance for a native priest who cares for the Christians.

In the kingdom of Colgonda, which is governed by a Mahometan king, there are some Christians at the capital under the Augustinian Fathers; on the sea-coast stands the town of S. Thomè, or rather the ruins of it.

¹ Brux.: Tangor.

Urbs erat una ex elegantissimis totius Orientis et templorum ornatus magnificentia,¹ quam Lusitanis eripuit rex Colgonda, incitatus et adiutus ab Hollandis. Verum rex facti poenitens praesertim cum promissa ab Hollandis pecunia non solveretur,² integram aliquot annis servavit eo consilio ut Lusitanis restituerat ne cum illis aliquando bellum haberet;³ interea superveniens classis gallica urbem Mauris expulsis uno die occupavit, Rex Colgonda eam deinde duorum annorum obsidione una cum Batavis compulit ad deditionem. Urbe recuperata rex misit deputatos Goam qui pro regi urbem offerrent quam tanta fide intactam servaverant ut in templis ac (*P. 35*) coenobiis autoritate regia clausis nihil ornamentorum deesset, nulla desideraretur argentea supellex ibi relicta. Sed quis intelligat haec consilia?⁴ Responsum est deputatis (ii erant Lusitani illarum terrarum incolae) quod urbs plus oneri futura esset quam profectioni;⁵ contra illi instare ut consideraret prorox quae et quam praeclara ea urba esset, tam celebris D. Thomae sepulchro, quantae gloriae Lusitania, eam amissam tam facili negotio recuperare, sine vi, sine exercitu, hoste ultro eam ad paciscendam pacem offerente.⁶ Quoad expensas vero obtutere deputati nomine Lusitano-

One of the finest towns of the whole East, it (*S. Thomè*) had magnificent churches; but it was taken from the Portuguese by the king of Colgonda, at the instigation and with the help of the Hollanders. The king, repenting however of what he had done, especially as the Hollanders were not paying him the money they had promised, kept it intact for some years, hoping that, if he returned it to the Portuguese, he would for the future be free from war on their part. Meanwhile, a French fleet came on the scene, and in one day they expelled the Moors and occupied the place. Next, after a siege of two years, the king of Colgonda, helped by the Dutch, forced it to surrender. He reoccupied it and sent ambassadors to Goa to offer to the Viceroy a town which they had preserved so carefully intact that, in the churches and (*P. 35*) monasteries, closed by royal mandate, none of the ornaments, none of the silver vessels left behind, was missing. But, who will understand the meaning of what happened? The ambassadors were told (they were Portuguese, the inhabitants of those parts) that the town would be more of a burden than useful. The ambassadors insisted and asked the Viceroy to consider what a fine town it was, and how

¹ Brux.: omits: urbs erat . . . magnificentia.

² Brux.: omits: praesertim cum . . . solveretur.

³ Brux.: omits: ne cum illis . . . haberet.

⁴ Brux.: omits: nulla desideraretur . . . consilia?

⁵ Brux.: has also: profectioni: we expect: profectui.

⁶ Brux.: omits: quantae gloriae . . . offerente.

rum qui a tempore captae urbis in loca vicina maritima se receperant, fore ut ipsi praesidium ex asse persolverent alerentque.¹ Verum dum haec parvi penduntur rex Colgonda videns suam oblationem gratuitam tem parvi fieri,² urbem totam penitus solo aequaviti; ita urbs adeo celebris, una ex pulcherrimis totius orientis, tot expensis aedificata et validis cincta undique propugnaculis nescio quod mirabili fato³ finem habuit. Plerique Lusitani quondam incolae illius urbis se receperunt Madrastapan, urbem Anglorum solum media leuca distantem ad septentrionem,⁴ quae alterius ruina modo factum est emporium.⁵

famous for the tomb of St. Thomas; also, how glorious it would be for the Portuguese, who had lost it, to recover it so easily, without a blow, without an army, since the enemies were offering it of themselves in order to cement peace. As for the expense, the ambassadors, speaking in the name of the Portuguese who, after the capture of the town, had betaken themselves to the neighbouring sea-coast towns, answered that they would pay and maintain a garrison at their own expense. But, seeing that they held his gratuitous offer in such ill esteem, the king of Colgonda utterly razed the whole town to the ground. Thus (I know not but what strange fatality) a town, once so celebrated, one of the most beautiful of the whole East, which had cost so much to build, and girt roundabout with strong ramparts, has vanished.¹ The greater number of the Portuguese, who formerly inhabited the town, withdrew to Madrastapan,² a town of the English, only a league further to the north, which has now become an emporium owing to the

¹ Brux.: omits: alerentque.

² Brux.: omits: videns suam . . . fieri.

³ Brux.: omits: nescio quo . . . fato.

⁴ Brux.: omits: ad septentrionem.

⁵ Brux.: insigne emporium.

¹ H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (1640-1800) will bear out much of what is written here.

No wonder if the Archives of Mailapur were lost, if Christian tombstones serve as flagstones in Hindu temples of the neighbourhood.

² The origin of the word Madras is not settled, according to *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., where the form is generally Madraspatanam; but, unless the metathesis, as here in Madrastapan, was frequent, how did we come to the form Madrasta, Madrast?

In monte una leuca ab urbe Meliapor distante templum est in quo crux miraculosa visitur quae triduo ante diem S. Thomae sed non omnibus amis sanguinem sudat; notum est omnibus illud manifestum miraculum; in monte autem minori qui propius urbem visitur modo Collegium est Soc^{tis}, quod antea in urbe erat, insigne templum ibi recenter aedificatum est a praefecto provinciae illius maritimae Saraceno.¹

In Bengala (quae regio fere celeberrima est omnium nationum commercio) hinc inde dispersi sunt plures Christiani qui sub gubernatore Mahometano regis Mogorensis pacifice vivunt; eorum curam habent PP. Augustiniani.

In Ugolin² vero ubi Lusitani multi habitant est domus et templum Soc^{tis}.

Supra Bengalam 100 circiter leucis ab Ugolino oppido versus septentrionem in litore orientali Gangis recens nuper nata est Ecclesia. Quidam gentilis nobilis adolescens a S. Antonio de Padua (*P.* 36) noctu male acceptus, ab eo compulsus est ad amplectendam fidem Christianam; etenim die sequenti

ruined condition of the other place.

On the mount, one league from the town of Meliapor, there is a Church in which is seen a miraculous cross, which sweats blood three days before the feast of St. Thomas, but not every year; this evident miracle is known to all.¹ On the lesser mount, nearer to the town, there is now the College of the Society which formerly was in the town, a very fine Church was recently built there by the Saracen Governor of that maritime province.

In Bengala (which is about the most famous country for the trade which all kinds of nations ply there), there are many Christians; they live in peace under the Mahometan governor of the king of Mogor, and are taken care of by the Augustinian Fathers.

At Ugolin,² where many Portuguese live, there is a house and Church of the Society.

Beyond Bengala, about a hundred leagues from Ugolin, towards the north and on the east bank of the Ganges, a new Christianity sprang up lately. A certain noble heathen youth, having been severely handled at night by St. Anthony of Padua (*P.* 36), was compelled by him to

¹ Brux.: omits: provinciae illius maritimae.

² Brux.: Ugolim.

¹ One could write a volume on the discovery of St. Thomas' bones under the Portuguese, their migrations, the finding of the Pahlvi inscribed stone, the fraud of the Brahmans who read the inscription, the sweating of the stone.

² Hugli, generally spelt 'Hughli.'

eius chordae ictibus saucius baptismum petiit quem pridem recusaverat obstinatus. Is, Antonius deinceps nomine, factus ex gentili Evangelicae legis praedicator zelosissimus cum sus quoque coniuge non impari zeli paucis tempore plus quam 20 hominum milia redux in patriam ad fidem convertit ac baptizavit, ille viris ac pueris, uxor mulieribus ac puellis non minori animo ac successu Evangelicam legem etiam nunc praedicare non desistunt, cum vero cresceret in dies ingens Christianorum multitudo, Antonius missis Goam litteris petiit subsidium patrum nostrorum quorum 4 eo destinati jam ut credo collaborant tantae animarum messi colligendae. Constat autem mihi ex nuntiis e Bengala acceptis haec indubitata esse; et quidam Lusitanus inde redux, quocum egi numerum baptizatorum ait excedere plus quam 30 milia.

embrace the Christian religion; the next day, in fact, he bore the marks of stripes from the Saint's chord, and asked for baptism, which he had obstinately refused before. Called Anthony thenceforth, he became, from a pagan, a very zealous preacher of the evangelical law, and, his wife sharing his zeal, he converted and baptized, in a short time, after his return to his country, more than twenty thousand people. They still continue, with no less success than energy, to preach the evangelical law, he to the men and boys, she to the women and girls. As this large number of Christians was daily increasing, Anthony sent letters to Goa and asked the help of our Fathers. Four of them were appointed to that Mission, and are labouring now, I believe, in gathering in such a rich harvest of souls. The news I have received from Bengala shows that these facts leave no doubt; I have spoken with a Portuguese who has come back from there, and he tells me that the number of the baptized exceeds thirty thousand.¹

¹ Another volume can be written on the doings of Antonio of Busna and the conversion of our Dacca Christians. Fr. Thomas wrote from Goa, November 28, 1680: 'To this I add a prodigious case. An infidel in the kingdom of Bengala, having been miraculously converted to the faith, went to preach the faith in the countries near the Gango (*sic* for Ganges), about two hundred leagues inland, where he has baptised in a few years 25,000 (persons). And, being unable to cope with so many people, or give them any other sacrament than baptism, he wrote here to our Rev. Fr. Provincial (Fr. Fernão de Queyros) a letter which would draw tears from a heart of stone, asking the favour of sending him some of our missionaries to help him. Two were at once sent by sea, and two by land, across the lands of Moger (Mogor), Suratte and Agra. They have already arrived at Bengala. And, having gone from there towards the North (*Cod.*: Lort), they wrote that after a month's journey they had arrived in the kingdom of Napal (=Nepal). They say it is a very civilized

In regno Peguano cuius sedes regia est urbs Ava pauci sunt quod sciam Christiani, prae-sertim in urbe Pegu.

In Arracam, capite regni eiusdem nominis, pauci Christiani sunt quorum curam habant PP. Augustiniani. In Tenagrin,¹ qui portus est regni Siam percelebris, pauci² sunt Christiani.

In urbe Queda et in toto regno Malavorum usque ad fretum Sincaputanum et in regno Bintam ultra fretum nulli sunt prorsus Christiani, sed plerique sunt Mahometani pertinacissimi; sic ut circa Malacam nulli quod sciam pagi unquam facti sint Christiani.

In insula Sumatra plerique sunt Mahometani; in urbe regia quae Achem dicitur aliquot sunt Christiani quibus praeest P. Capuchinus; huic recenter agum pro templo extruendo

In the kingdom of Pegu, the capital of which is Ava, there are, as far as I know, a few Christians, especially in the town of Pegu.

In Arracam, the capital of a kingdom of the same name, there are a few Christians under the management of the Augustinian Fathers. At Tenagrin,¹ a very celebrated harbour of the kingdom of Siam, there are a few Christians.

In the town of Queda² and in the whole kingdom of the Malays, as far as the Strait of Sincaput,³ and in the kingdom of Bintam beyond the Strait, there are no Christians at all; the people are mostly very obstinate Mahometans, so that, as far as I know, no villages around Malaca were ever made Christian.

In the island of Sumatra the greater number are Mahometans, in the chief town, Achem,⁴ as it is called, there are some Christians presided over by a Capuchin Father:

¹ Brux.: Tenacerim.

² Brux.: etiam pauci.

kingdom, that the inhabitants are well disposed to receive the faith, and that only missionaries are wanting. From there they went in search of this new apostle, according to their instructions. I believe that the news of their arrival will soon come, and then I shall write more lengthily about into your Reverence' (=Father Verjus, Procurator General of the China Missions, Paris).

The missionaries who went to Nepal were those who had come from Agra to Patna. One of the two went to Nagpur, where he remained some time. We have curious letters from him.

The story of St. Anthony's chord and the beating is found under different forms. It had great success. This movement of conversion led to the creation of the Nagory or Bhawal Mission Station, near Dacca.

¹ At p. 37, Thenacerim. The form Tenagrin is evidently not a correct reading. For a very large number of spellings of that word, see Anderson, *English intercourse with Siam*, p. 11, n. 2.

² Queda.—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Queda.

³ *Cod.*: Singaputanum. It must be Singapuratum. None of the forms in *Hobson-Jobson* from 1512 to 1818 has a town Simhapura=lion's city.

⁴ Achem.—Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Achin.

Regina tunc imperans addixit; insuper a regione Malacae in oppido Tamble¹ aliquas Christiani ecclesias habent.

Malacae res Christiana psumdata est a Batavis; templum Soc^{tis} quod eminet in colle in medio arcis loco amoenissimo servit concionibus haereticorum; ad eas² coguntur etiam Catholici;³ verum quidam Scotus, centurio Catholicus, concionem adiens dictoque elevans et confutans (*P.* 37) ab illa lubens volensque proscriptus est. In Urbe quae circumfusa est arci ad ripam maris omnes indigenae sunt Catholici; illis nec conceditur templum nec sacerdos; solet tamen ibi adesse sacerdos indigena dicitque sacrum in sacellis domesticis praecipuorum civium, sed lucosum est quod soleant esse tam malae vitae ut propter scandala plures expulsi sint ab Hollandis qui alias facile essent dissimulaturi; etenim rebus inspectis cognovi ex ipsis Hollandis quod facile posset habitu saeculari agere cum eorum licentia sacerdos Europaeus etiam Religiosus, modo vir esset qui nihil publice imprudenter ageret ac proinde⁴

the Queen now reigning recently gave him land to build a church on; besides, opposite Malaca, in the town of Tamble,¹ the Christians have some churches.

At Malaca, the Christian religion is spoiled by the Batavians. The church of the Society, which is on the summit of a hill, in a most pleasant spot in the middle of the fortress, is used by heretical preachers; even the Catholics are forced to attend; but a certain Scotch Captain, a Catholic, who had gone to the preaching criticized and refuted it (*P.* 37), and was expelled, the very thing he wanted. In the town about the fortress, along the sea-shore, all the natives are Christians, but neither church nor priest is allowed them; however, a native priest is generally living there, who says Mass in the domestic oratories of the chief citizens; but it is sad to say that the conduct of several is so bad that the Hollanders, who otherwise would easily have dissembled, expelled them for scandalous living. I examined into these matters, and learned from the Hollanders themselves that they would easily allow a European priest,

¹ Fr. Vriethoff read: Tambre (Brux.).

² Brux.: ad eam.

³ Brux.: coguntur omnes milites. etiam Catholici (all the soldiers, even the Catholics, are obliged to go to them).

⁴ Brux.: ageret: sane ingemui viso illius Christianitatis statu, quod alio properans non possem ei succurrere, cum id mihi me declarando facillime et libenter concessissent Hollandi, ac proinde (verily, seeing the condition of the Christianity, I grieved that, as I was hastening to another place, I could not come to its help, although, had I revealed who I was, the Dutch would very easily and willingly have given me leave; and therefore).

¹ Tamble.—Not in Johnson's Royal Atlas.

Roman super eo scripsi et ad Provincialem Goanum suggerens modum quo aliquis e nostris Malacam mitti passet qui si esset natione Flander et vir bene versatus et prudens, ingentem fructum animarum in illa ampla civitate colligeret et ipsis gratus esset Hollandis qui suae patriae homines in India libenter amplectuntur.

In regno Siamensi quod a Thenacerim¹ usque ad 18 gradum extenditur pauci² sunt Christiani, jam pridem in Siamensium conversione incubuerunt PP. nostri. Verum successum nullum habuerunt³ illis succedere PP. Missionarii Galli, qui numero plures idem⁴ pluribus locis intenter iam plus quam a 12 annis: nec tamen Siamensium famillae 40 modo Christianae numerantur. Habitant Missionarii illi ad urbem regiam in duobus seminariis: zelo inter omnes eminet Ill^{mus} Ludovicus Laneau Episcopus; sed⁵ ita hic radices

even a Religious, to live there in lay dress, provided he behaved not imprudently in public. I have therefore written about this to Rome and to the Provincial of Goa, suggesting how one of Ours could be sent to Malaca, and saying that, if he were a Fleming, and a man of good character and prudence, he would reap much fruit of souls in that large city, and would be acceptable to the Dutch themselves, who, in India, show themselves kind to people of their own country.¹

In the kingdom of Siam, which stretches from Thenacerim up to the 18th degree, there are a few Christians. Ours have long laboured for the conversion of the Siamese, but they have had no success. They were succeeded by the French Missionary Fathers, more in number, who have tried the same for over 12 years in several places; still they have not yet 40 Siamese Christian families. Those Missionaries are living at the capital in two seminaries, most eminent for zeal is His Lordship, Bishop Louis Laneau;² but idolatry has struck such deep roots here

¹ Brux.: Tenacerim.

² Brux.: pauci admodum.

³ Brux.: PP. nostri omnibus modis summoque labore ac industria. Verum neque in urbe regia neque in porsoluco aliisque locis successum ullum habuerunt.

⁴ Brux.: qui numero plures magno zelo et conatu idem.

⁵ Brux.: Episcopus. Alii aliis in oppidis habitant, sed.

¹ Fr. J. B. Maldonado, S.J., a Belgian from Mons, writes from Siam, November 16, 1681, that Fr. Thomas, owing to the unseaworthy condition of the ship which was taking him from Malaca to Macao, had been obliged to come to Siam. Cf. Père H. Bosmans, S.J., *Correspondance de J. B. Maldonado*, Louvain, Bureaux des Analectes, 1910, p. 50.

² Read: Lanneau.

begit ido(lo)latria ut vix alii quam pueri moribundi aptizentur, aut si qui sint alii adulti plerique illico ad idola revertuntur. In hoc regno numerantur facile pagorum 12 milia, in quorum singulis plures habitant sacrificuli quos Talapeos vocant, qui in magna apud gentiles sunt aestimatione. Iuxta urbem regiam iacet ad fluminis ripam vicus Lusitanorum in quo circiter 4 milia Christianorum sunt; ibi Soc^{us} residentiam habet in qua haec scribo; habent quoque ecclesiam PP. Dominicani. Rex, Pisus suorum pertinacia in Ido(lo)latria liberam Evangelii praedicationem relinquit. (P. 38.)

Melior ad Evangelium dispositio esse videtur in regno Laos, ad quod parabam per flumen his diebus ascendere exploraturus per interpretem statum illius gentis et quis fructus posset ibi fieri si eo nostri mitterentur; verum bellum non sinit transire e finibus ad illud regnum. Facilis¹ et tutus aditus patet e Cambosa² usque Lençaum quae est sedes regni illius.

that scarcely any others are baptized than dying children; if any others, adults, are baptized, most of them return at once to their idols. It is easy to find in this kingdom twelve thousand villages, in each of which live several priests called Talapei,¹ who are held in great esteem by the pagans. Near the capital, on the bank of the river, is the settlement of the Portuguese, where reside about thousand Christians; here the Society has a residence, where I write this letter; the Dominican Fathers also have a church. The king, trusting in his people's obstinate attachment to idolatry, gives freedom to preach the Gospel.

(P. 38.) The people of the kingdom of Laos² seem to be better disposed towards the Gospel. I was preparing to go thither these days by the river, in order to discover through an interpreter the state of the country, and what results might be gained, if Ours were sent there; but the war does not allow me to cross the frontiers and go to that kingdom. The journey from Cambosa³ to Lençao,⁴ the capital of that kingdom, is easy and safe.

¹ Brux.: finibus. Ad illud regnum facillis.

² Brux.: Cambodia.

¹ Talapoes, Talapoins, or Talapoins, Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.

² Laos is the right spelling.

³ Camboja, or Camboia (from which our Cambodia) must be the spelling.

⁴ Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Lan John or Langianne, one of the names for the Shan or Laos State of Luang Prabang, on the Mekong, in the early part of the 17th century. Lanchang, it is said, means 'a million of elephants'. The Burmese know it as Len Shen.

In Cambosa¹ Christiani sunt non pauci, sed ob tumultus bellorum magno labore colitur illa vireo ab uno e nostris et altero sacerdote missionario.

Cochin-China florentem habet² ecclesiam et communis vox est eam nihil debere primitivae. Saevit persecutio sed non violenta. Quidam Christianus, vir nobilis, anno 1680 comprehensus capite damnatus est; dici vix potest quanta alacritate in regis praesentia mortis sententiam excepit; summae aedificationi fuit eius constantia in morte; ibi³ duo e nostris cum aliquot missionariis de Propaganda⁴ ingentem Christianorum multitudinem excolunt. P. Bartholomeus de Costa ita ipse gratiam primogeniti filii Regis ut hic veniat ad Patrem ea familiaritate ut crebro plures horas cum eo solo intra cubiculum colloquendo consumat; ubi is regnabit alia erit rerum facies; indoles Conchinchinarum utcunque ad Japonenses⁵ accedit.

In Tunchino numerosissimi sunt Christiani; suavis in eos durat persecutio. Ibi laborant duo Patres e Soc^{te} duo Missionarii Galli et aliquot indigenae sacerdotes. Necesse est ut plures nostri eo submittantur ob multitudinem ecclesiarum.

The Christians in Cambosa are not few; but, the country being troubled with wars, life is very laborious to the Father of our Society and the other Missionary priest who cultivate that vineyard.

Cochin-China has a flourishing church. The common opinion is that it is not a whit behind the primitive Church; persecution reigns, but violently. A certain noble Christian, seized in 1680, was condemned to death, and words can hardly express with what joy he received the death-sentence in the king's presence. His constancy in death was most edifying. There two of our Fathers and some Missionaries of the Propaganda take care of a very large number of Christians. Fr. Bartholomew da Casta has found very much favour with the King's eldest son, who visits him so familiarly that he often spends several hours talking with him alone in his room: when he will reign, there will be a great change. The character of the Cochinchinese resembles somewhat that of the Japanese.

In Tunchin the Christians are very numerous; there is a mild persecution. Two Fathers of our Society, two French Missionaries, and some native priests labour there. More of Ours should be sent there, considering the great number of the churches.

¹ Brux.: Cambodia.

² Brux.: Cochinchinae florentem habent.

³ Brux.: ejus constantia ac pietas in morte. cujus spectator Lusitanus eam mihi copiose narravit. Ibi.

⁴ Brux.: propaganda fide.

⁵ Brux.: ad Japonenses.

De China non scribo; de ea copiose omnia narrabit procurator: de Japonia scripsi nuper via Batavica. Expecto ex illa naves Magno desiderio in mensem januarium quae nova de novo imperatore adferent.

Christus Dominus noster, qui has ecclesias plantavit in sanguine suo, eis quoque per viscera misericordiae suae abundantia gratiae suae succurrat.¹

Siam 30 Octobris 1681.
Ant. Thomas.²

Nota.—Hoc manuscriptum transmissum ab Ex^{ma} Ducissa de Aveyro Salmantic. eidem Pt. Hurre (?).

Ex archiv. Soc. Jesu.

I do not write about China; the Procurator will write fully about it. I wrote about Japan *viâ* Batavia.¹ I expect very eagerly the ships from there next January, with news about the new Emperor.

May Christ, Our Lord, who planted these churches (and watered them) with His blood, assist them also, of His mercy, with the abundance of His grace.

Siam, 30th of October, 1681.
Ant. Thomas.

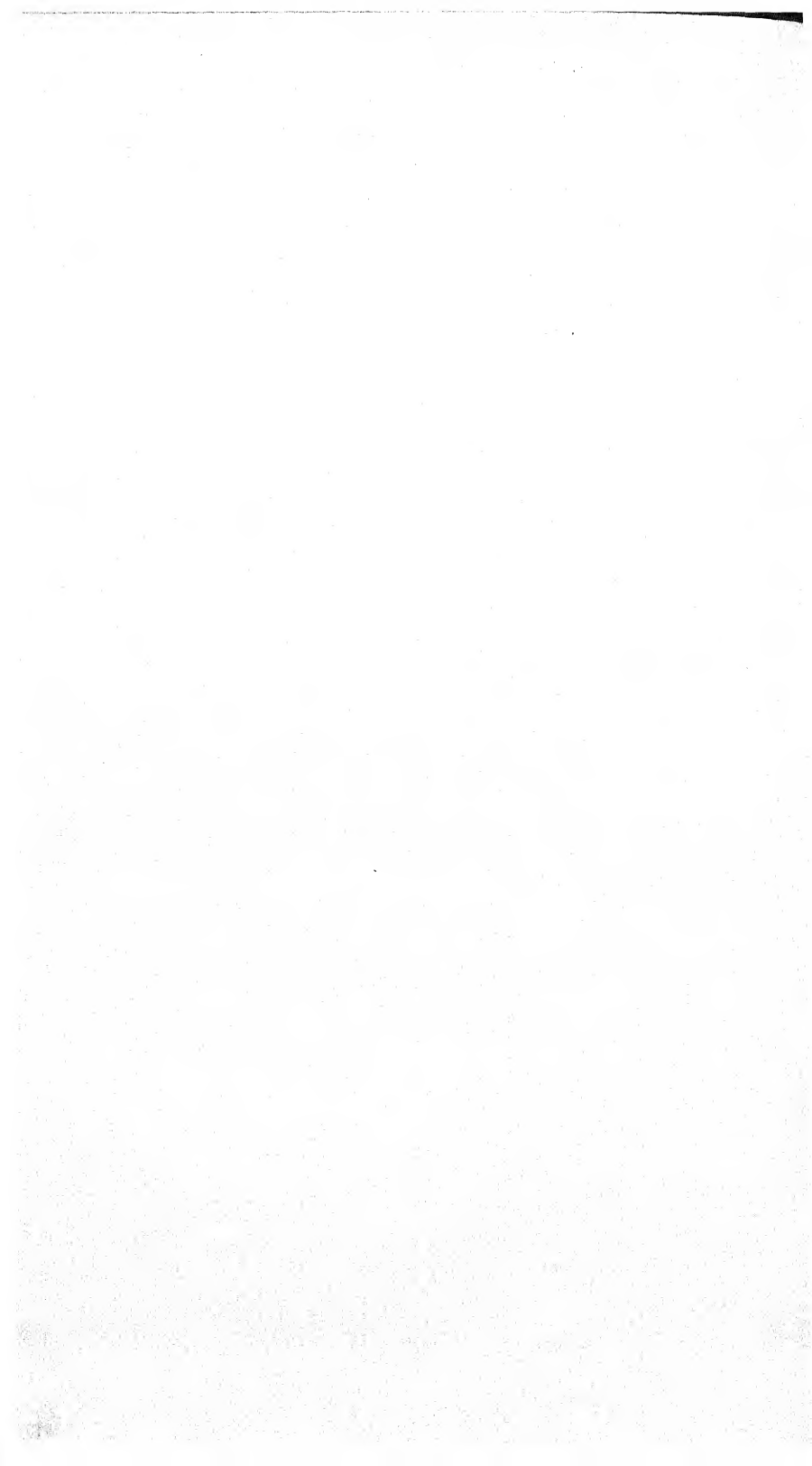
Note.—This manuscript was sent by the Most Excellent Duchess de Aveyro of Salamanca to the same Father Hurre (?).

From the archives of the Society of Jesus.

¹ Brux.: succurrat. Amen.

² The Brussels copy ends here.

¹ Batavia, the town; formerly Jacatra.



Description of Indostan and Guzarate by Manuel
Godinho de Eredia (1611).

Edited and translated

By THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

Chief Authority.

Manuel Godinho de Eredia: *Malaca, l'Inde Méridionale, et le Cathaym*. Manuscrit original autographe de Godinho de Eredia, appartenant à la Bibliothèque Royale, de Bruxelles, reproduit en fac-simile et traduit par M. Léon Janssen, Membre de la Société de Géographie de Bruxelles, avec une préface de M. Ch. Ruelens, Conservateur à la Bibliothèque Royale, Membre du Comité de la Société de Géographie de Bruxelles, Bruxelles, C. Muquardt, 1882.

Manuel Godinho de Eredia, the son of Juan de Eredia Aquaviva and Dona Helena Vessiva, daughter of Don Juan, King of Supa in Macassar and owner of the estate of Machoquique, was born at Malacca on July 16, 1563. When 13 years old, he was sent to the Jesuit College of Goa. In 1579, he entered the Society of Jesus, but after a year his passion for geography made him quit the religious state. Later on, he became cosmographer to the Estado of India; in 1594, he was appointed *descobridor*, with the object of discovering new lands for the Crown of Portugal. His first work (*Informação da Aurea Chersoneso ou Peninsula e das ilhas Auríferas, Carbunculas e Aromaticas*, published by Antonio Lourenço Caminha, in *Ordenações de India do Senhor Rei Don Manoel*, Lisbon, 1807) was presented to the King between 1597 and 1600. Between 1605 and 1607, owing to ill-health, he retired from active service to Goa. (Cf. Janssen, pp. IX-X.) His *Declaração de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay em III Tratados* is dated 1613, the dedication to the King bearing the date: Goa, Nov. 24, 1613.

The preface by Ruelens to Janssen's work is very jejune on the life of our author, and the public documents referring to him. While searching for other things, we came upon at least one reference to him. (Cf. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, *Documentos remetidos de India ou Livros das Monções*,

Editorial Note: This paper was received in 1930 but for various reasons it remained unattended before the death of the author. It is now published in its original form, and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the Philological Secretary, has revised the proofs.—B. G.

Tomo I, Lisboa, 1880, pp. 25-26.) In a letter of March 2, 1605, the King of Portugal writes to Dom Martim Affonso de Castro, Viceroy of India:

‘Manuel Godinho de Heredia me escreveu que o conde almirante e Ayres de Saldanha o encarregaram de hua empresa e descobrimento de novas terras de Sul, com tituo de adiantado, das quaes promette muitas riquezas de ouro, especiarias e outras drogas; postoque diz nao tinha passado de Malaca, e me pede ajuda pera proseguir o dito descobrimento; o porque o dito Ayres de Saldanha me não avisa d’isto, nem tenho por meu serviço que materias d’ esta qualidade se encomendem a pessoas que não tenham muita sufficiença, e de que não ha confiança que (p. 26) procederão em meu serviço com a fidelidade e seguridade necessaria, nem he conveniente arriscar-se a reputação e autoridade d’esse Estado, vos encomendo que vos informeis das qualidades d’este homem, e do talento que tem, e conforme a isso trateis esta materia, da qual e das mais que se offerecerem d’esta qualidade me avisareis sempre particularmente.’

We doubt not that many other references to the man could be found in the published documents of the period.

The document we publish is not in the writing of Godinho de Eredia. Though of 1611, it was not included in his *Declaração de Malaca* of 1613, part of which was itself written in 1611; yet it might appropriately have been added to the *Declaração* as a fourth treatise. We find in the *Declaração de Malaca* some passages almost textually reproduced in our own document, and others elucidating our text. These we shall point out.

We do not find in the *Declaração de Malaca* any detailed map showing the position of the provinces and places noted in our text; yet it is likely that such a map was drawn up, if we judge from the method followed by the author in his other treatises, as published by Janssen. The map serving to explain best our document is at fol. 78r in Janssen’s work. There we find (we italicize the provinces): Rio Bombain, Enseada (of Bombay), Dio, Jaquet, *Gosarate*, Cambaia, Cacha, Chitor, Rio Indo, Sindi (town), *Sindi*, Thiguir, R. Candoo, Laor (Lahore), Dely, Fatepur, Agra real, *Mogor*, *Purab* (town); Rio Ganges, *Bengala*, *Chesmir* (Kashmir), in a position very distorted, where we should have Nepal, Prosonay Montes (between Cheshmir and *Tebet*), Negarphirin (where we would place Bhutan and Assam), Rio Cana, *Cabul*, Cabul (town), ‘Navgracoth, olim Imaus, vel Caucaso,’ *Indostan*. ‘Negar Pherin montes aureos,’ is also shown at fol. 69v, in a map. Belor or Montes Nevados are above Turcastan, between the Regio Tenebrarum and Cayra and the Lop Desert (fol. 78v); see also fol. 69v (map) and fol. 76v (map).

In the *Declaração de Malaca* there is a chapter on Indostan (fol. 74r and v), one on Turcastan (fol. 74v-75r), one on Astracan (fol. 75r-75v), one on India (fol. 76), one on ‘De Intraganges’ (fol. 76r), and one on ‘De Extraganges’ (fol. 76r).

(From British Museum, Addl. MSS., 9854, fols. 77r-81v.)

(Fol. 77r.) *Descurassô, sobre a Prouincia do Indostan: chamada Mogûl, e corruptamente Mogôr: com declaraçao do Reino guzarate, e mais Reinos de seu districto: ordenado por Manuel godinho de Eredia: cosmographo môr do estado de Indias Orientaes.*¹

Anno. 1611.²

A Prouincia do Indostan, está cituada na Zona temperada: e estende de .23. graos, 30. m. do Tropico de cancro; no meio do .2.º clima, no .7. Paralelo, onde o dia he de .13. oras .30. m. ate fenecer em .41. gr. 16. m. de altura septê-trional, no meio do 5.º clima, no paralelo .13. onde o dia he de .15. oras .26. m./-E o Indostan ou Mogûl, agora corruptamente chamada Mogôr, nome que na sua lingoagem natural significa Pastor.³ sobrenome do fundador da Monarchia de Mogôres: o qual foi aquele Tamerland. que em batalha senhoreou Bazacet, gram Turco: e este Tamerland sendo Pastor por sua industria se cazou com à Irma de Soltan Vssem Rey de Delí da familia de Chagatâ, de (Sama)rcand, olim Turan, idest Turca, ou Turcastan: e por morte de Soltan Vssem, (soc)cedeo no gouerno anno .1404. no Pontificado de Clemente .2.º Tendo

(Fol. 77r.) *Discourse on the Province of Indostan, called Mogûl, and corruptly Mogôr, with a description of the Kingdom of Guzarate, and other Kingdoms of its district. Arranged by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, Chief Cosmographer of the Estado of the East Indies, in the year 1611.*¹

The Province of Indostan is situated in the Temperate Zone, and extends from 23 degrees and 30 minutes of the Tropic of Cancer, in the middle of the 2nd climate, in the 7th parallel, where the day is of 13 hours and 30 minutes, until it ends in 41 degrees and 16 minutes of northern altitude,² in the middle of the 5th climate, in the 13th parallel, where the day is of 15 hours and 26 minutes.

Indostan, or Mogûl, now corruptly called Mogôr, is a name which in their native language means Shepherd,³ the surname of the founder of the Monarchy of (the) Mogôres, who was that Tamerland who in battle defeated Bazacet, (the) Grand Turk; and this Tamerland, being a shepherd, by his industry married the sister of Soltan Ussem, King of Deli, of the Chagata family of Samarcand, formerly Turan, that is Turca, or Turcastan;

¹ Underlined (in pencil?): *ordenado . . . Orientaes.*

² Underlined (in pencil?): 1611.

³ This word is underlined (in pencil?).

¹ The MS. is written in a very fine and clear hand. Only in one or two places had we occasion to hesitate about the spelling.

² This brings the northern limit of India much too high.

³ Monserrate does not give this derivation of the word Mogol. Cf. *Memoirs ASB.*, Vol. 3, 1914, p. 652.

Dom Fernando Rei de Portugal.—De sorte que Tamerland foi o Primeiro Rei de Mogôres: e por elle se chamou a Prouincia Mogôr: e o seu proprio nome era Tamer. Mas como elle manquejava de hum pê, por alcunha lhe chamarão coxo, que significa land, e o mesmo he Tamercoxo, como Tamerland. 1.º Rey, e deste descendem os Reis seguintes. o 2.º Miraxâ, e por elle Xaroc. o 3.º Soltan Mahamet, (e ?) por elle Oulogobot, o 4.º Soltan Abucaid. o 5.º Amaxet, o 6.º babor. o 7.º Hamau. o 8.º Equebar, Zalaldin Mahamet. o 9.º Noradin Mahamet Zanguir Patxâgazi. que ao presente gouerna a coroa de Mogôres no anno. 1611. e a chapa e Armas reaes de sua coroa, he hum circulo maior, e dentro tem .9. circulôs menores ou Orbes: e em cada Orbe escrito o nome de cada Rey dos sobreditos laurados em letra Arabia.

E chamamos Indostan ou Mogôr toda aquella porção de Terra continente, que da parte do Norte, p'los montes Nau-

and by the death of Soltan Ussem he succeeded in the government, in the year 1404, in the Pontificate of Clement II, Dom Fernando being King of Portugal.¹ So that Tamerland was the first King of (the) Mogôres, and through him the Province was called Mogôr, and his proper name was Tamer; but as he limped of one foot, they nicknamed him the *Lame*, which means *land*, and Tamer the *Lame* is the same as Tamerland. (He was) the 1st King; and from him are descended the following: the 2nd, Miraxa, and for him Xaroc; the 3rd, Soltan Mahamet (and ?) from him Oulogobot; the 4th, Soltan Abucaid; the 5th, Amaxet; the 6th, Babor; the 7th, Hamau; the 8th, Equebar Zalaldin Mahamet;² the 9th, Noradin Mahamet Zanguir Patxâ Gazi, who at present governs the crown of (the) Mogôres in the year 1611; and the seal and royal arms of his crown is a greater circle; and, within, it has 9 smaller circles or orbs, and in each orb is written the name of each King of the above-said ones, worked out in Arabic characters.

And we call Indostan or Mogôr that portion of continent land which, on the north side, by the Naugracot Mountains,³

¹ Pope Clement II reigned from Dec. 25, 1046, to Oct. 9, 1047.—Timur invaded India in 1398, returned to Samarkand and died in 1405. Cf. V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, 2nd edn., p. 252.—Dom Ferdinand was King of Portugal in 1367–83.

² Cp. with Monserrate, *op. cit.*, p. 672, where a different line of descent is given, and with de Laet (cf. Hoyland-Banerjee, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, 1928, p. 124).

³ Nagarkot, Kangra, which had a temple famous among early European travellers and in the Muhammadan historians for the story of people cutting out their tongue.

gracot chamado p'los latinos Imaus ou caucasus, se estende pera o sul até os montes do gâte, do Decam, e de Oriâs ou Orixá; e da parte do oriente, p'los Montes Nagerserrin. e Rio Ganges, e dahi se estende pera occidente ate o o Rio Indi ou Sindi. De modo que na parte Septentrional, o Indostan se aparta (*Fol. 77v*) do Turcastan polos Montes Naugracot, e na parte Austral se aparta do Decam, e Oriâs polos montes do gâte/ e na parte occidental se aparta da Persia por coraçone candahâr e polo Rio Indi ou Sindi/ e da parte oriental se aparta de Tibet, Sim. Mangin da china cocho, Patanes polos Montes Nagerserrin, e Rio Ganges.

which the Latins call Imaus or Caucasus, extends southwards up to the Mountains of the Gâte,¹ of the Decam,² and of Oriâs or Orixá;³ and on the east side, by the Nagerserrin Mountains⁴ and the River Ganges, and thence extends westwards up to the River Indi or Sindi. So that on the north side Indostan is separated (*Fol. 77v*) from Turcastan by the Naugracot Mountains; and on the south side it is separated from the Decam and Oriâs by the Mountains of the Gâte; and on the west side it is separated from Persia by Coraçone,⁵ Candahâr and the River Indi or Sindi; and on the east side it is separated from Tibet, Sim,⁶ Mangin⁷ of China, Cocho,⁸ Patanes,⁹ by the Nagerserrin Mountains and the River Ganges.

E neste districto estão plantados. 7. Reinos seguintes o

And in this district are situated (the) following 7 King-

¹ Ghâts.

² Deccan.

³ Orissa.

⁴ Cp. with fol. 71r in Janssen: 'E bem pode ser fosse o caminho pera o Ophir ou Serica do embocadero do Ganges, tratto antigo de Indias pera o sertão e minas de ouro dos altos montes *Negar Phirin*, de que faz menção Plinio e Ptholemeo, como Região de ouro: E depois se aprio o tratto do sertão Pegû, chamado Baracura Emporio, daquelle rio se passa a Tartaria.' (*Janssen's translation*, p. 86): 'Il est bien possible que, de l'embouchure du Gange, il y eut un chemin pour Ophir et la Sérique, ou se faisait depuis longtemos (p. 87) un commerce des Indiens avec l'intérieur, et les mines d'or des hautes montagnes de *Negar Phirin*, que Plin et Ptolémée mentionnent comme étant aurifères.

'Plus tard s'est établi le commerce de l'intérieur, de Pégu par le port de Baracura, situé sur un fleuve d'ou l'on passe en Tartarie.'

Negar Phirin is again mentioned in the text at fol. 70r and at p. 85 of Janssen's translation: 'Il est possible que ce (Ophir) soit cette région de l'or dont fait mention Ptolémée dans sa table XII de l'Asie, située sur les bords du Gange et qui, de son temps, était l'endroit du monde où se faisait le plus grand commerce; car, par le Gange, se faisait le trafic de l'or des hautes montagnes de *Negar Phirin*: je ne sais pas si ces montagnes sont celles qu'on appelle aussi Sephar et si Ophir et Tharsis ne s'étendaient pas au delà.'

⁵ Khorasan.

⁷ Mahâchina. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. China.

⁸ Cooch Behar.

⁶ China.

⁹ Patna.

1.º gozarate. o 2.º Deli. o 3.º Purat. o 4.º cabul. o 5.º queximir. o 6.º bengala. o 7.º Sind. Alem de outras coroas de Rayâs Regulos, e todos estes Reinos e senhorios são governados por Nababos governadores do Patxâ Mogôr: e o Primeiro e mais antigo hê Deli. na Monarchia de Tamerland, por quem e por successores seus forão os mais Reinos conquistados, e os rendimentos destes estados montão immensa riqueza, Porque cada anno se recolhe no Thez.o real melhoria de.

doms: the 1st, Gozarate;¹ the 2nd, Deli; the 3rd, Purat;² the 4th, Cabul; the 5th, Queximir;³ the 6th, Bengala; the 7th, Sind, besides other Crowns of Kinglet Rayâs; and all these Kingdoms and Lordships are governed by Nababos, governors of the Mogôr Patxâ; and the first and most ancient is Deli, in the Monarchy of Tamerland, by whom and by whose successors the other Kingdoms were conquered; and the revenues of these estates amount to an immense sum, because every year there is collected into the royal treasury more than⁴

¹ Gujarat.

² The Purrob or Puropia of de Laet. *Pûrab* = east.

³ Kashmir.

⁴ Cp. this with a passage in Godinho de Erédia's *Declaração de Malaca* of 1613: (fol. 74r and v):

'E antigamente, erão tributarios ao Cathey as provincias do Indostan, Turcastan e Astracan, e Indias intra e extra; e pera noticia dellas faremos menção com brevidade e sumariamente.

'A provincia do Indostan esta situada na zona temperada, e se *Sacrobosco de Sph.* estende do Tropico do Capricorno, no meio do 2.º clyma, no 1.º parallelo, onde o dia he de 13 oras 30 m. até fenecer em 41 gr. 16 m. de altura septentrional, no meio de 5.º clima, no parallelo 13 onde o dia he de 15 oras. E o Indostan he composto de Tan, que significa provincia, e de Indos, que significa da India, ou da gentilidade, por que Indos quer dizer Idolatro; e o Indostan significa provincia de idolatria: e agora Indostan se chama Mogul, e corruptamente Mogor, nome que significa Pastor, sobrenome do fundador da monarchia de Mogores, o qual foi aquelle Tamerland, que em batalha senhoreou Bazacet, gran Turco. E este Tamerland, sendo pastor por sua industria, se casou com a irma de sultan Usem, rey de Dely, da familla de Chacatta de Samarcand, olium Turam, idest Turca ou Turcastan; e por morte de sultan Usem, socedeeo no governo, anno 1404, no Pontificado de Clemente IIº, sendo Dom Fernando Rey de Portugal. De sorte que Tamerland, foi o primeiro Rey de Mogores, e por elle se chamou a provincia Mogor, e o seu proprio nome era Tamer, mas como elle manquejava de hum pé por alcuña lhe chamarão coxo que significa land, e Tamercoxo he mesmo Tamerland, 1º Rey; e deste descendem os Reys seguintes; o 2º Miraxa e por elle Xaroc; o 3º sultan Mahameth e por elle Oulogoboth; o 4º sultan Abacayd; o 5º Amaxeth; o 6º Babor; o 7º. Hamau; o 8º Equebar Zaladin (*Fol.* 74v) Mahameth; o 9º Nuzadin Mahamet Zanguir Paxagazi, que ao presente governa o septro do Mogores, anno 1661.

'E chamamos Indostan ou Mogor toda aquella porção de terra continente que da parte do norte, pollos montes Naugracoth, chamado pollos latinos

As cidades, vilas, e Aldeas.
serão em n.º 1200. e as fortale-

The cities, towns and villages
must be 1,200 in number, and

Imaus ou Caucasus, se estende pera sul ate os montes do Gatte do Decan, e de Oriaes e de Orixá, e de parte do Oriente pollos montes Negar Pherin Aurifero e ryo Ganges, e dahy se estende pera occiente ate o ryo Indo ou Indi. Demodo que na parte septentrional se aparta o Indostan do Turcastan pollos montes Naugracoth; e da parte austral se aparta do Decan e de Oriaes pollos montes do Gatte, da parte occidental se aparta da Persia por Coracone, Candahar e pollo rio Indo ou Indi, e da parte oriental se aparta de Tebeth, Sim e Mansim, Cocho Pathanes, pollos montes Negar Pherin e montes Prosonay aurifero, e ryo Ganges; e neste districto estão plantados 7 reynos seguintes: o 1º, Gozarate, o 2º Deli 3º Purab, o 4º Cabul, o 5º Queximir, o 6º Bengala, o 7º Sindi. Alem de outras governações de Rajus ou Rajas, e todos estes reynos e senhorios são ao presente governados por Nababos, governadores do Patxa Rey Mogor, e o primeiro e mais antigo he Dely na monarchia de Tamerland, porquem e por Reys successores forão conquistados os outros reynos do Indostan.

(Translation by Janssen): (p. 89) 'Anciennement, les provinces de l'Hindoustan, du Turkestan et d'Astrakan, ainsi que les Indes d'en deça et d'au delà du Gange étaient tributaires du Cattay. Nous nous proposons de donner rapidement quelques renseignements sur ces pays.

'La province de l'Hindoustan est située dans la zone temérée et s'étend du Tropique du Capricorne, du milieu du 2me climat et du 1er parallèle, où le jour est de 13 heures 20 minutes, jusqu'à 41° 16' d'altitude septentrionale, au milieu du 5me climat et au 13me (p. 90), parallèle, où le jour est de 15 heures. Le nom d'Hindoustan dérive de Tan qui, signifie province et de *Indos*, qui signifie de l'Inde ou de la gentilité; car *Indos* veut dire idolâtre. L'Hindoustan porte aussi le nom de Mogol, ou par corruption Mogor. Ce nom signifie *Pasteur*, surnom qui fut donné au fondateur de la dynastie de Mogor, Tamerlan, qui défit Bajazet, Sultan de Turquie.

'Ce Tamerlan, qui etai pasteur, épousa la fille du Sultan Usem, roi de Delhy, de la famille de Chacatta, de Samarcand, anciennement Turam, nom d'où viennent ceux de Turc et de Turkestan. A la mort du Sultan Usem, Tamerlan lui succéda en l'an 1404, sous le pontificat de Clement II, et pendant le règne de Dom Fernand en Portugal. De sorte que Tamerlan fut le premier roi des Mogols, et c'est de son surnom, que la province tire son nom. Comme ce roi, dont le nom était Tamer, boitait, on lui donna le sobriquet de *land* qui signifie boiteux; *Tamercoxo* (Coxo, en Portugais, signifie *boiteux*.—L.J.) est donc le même nom que Tamerlan.

'De ce Tamerlan descendent les rois suivants: 1º Miraxa qui eut pour successeur Xaroc; 2º Mahometh que Oulogoboth suivit sur le trône; 3º le Sultan Abaïd 4º Amaxeth, 5º Babor, 6º Hamau, 7º Equebar Saladin Mahometh, et 8º Nuzadin Mahometh Zanguir Paxagazi qui tient le sceptre du Mogol en l'an 1611.

'Nous appelons Indoustan ou Mogor toute cette partie du continent qui, du Nord, par les monts Naugracoth, appelés par les anciens Imaus ou Caucase, s'étend vers le Sud jusqu' aux monts de Gatte, de Decan et d'Oriaes et d'Orixá. A l'Orient, il s'étend au delà des montagnes aurifères de Negar Pherin, par delà le Gange, tandis qu'à l'occident, il va toucher les rives de l'Indus. Les monts Naugracoth séparent donc du Turkestan la partie, septentrionale de l'Hindoustan, et les monts du Gatte en séparent la partie australe du Decan et d'Oriaes. A l'Occident, l'Hindoustan est séparé de la Perse par Coracone, Candahar et l'Indus; et à l'Orient, il est séparé de Tebet, Sim, Mansim, et Cocho Patanes, par les montagnes de Negar Pherin, les monts aurifères de Prosonay et le Gange.

zas fabricadas com Muros de Tijolos de pouca grossura e não m. to fortes nem Artificiosos: e as cazas da mesma obra todas terreas e cubertas de terrado: e algũs Palaçios e edificios reaes e Mesquitas ou Alcoroës de pedra marmor de obra tosca vnida sem cal, nem betume, somentes com encaixos de ferro ou Madeira / e algũas cidades de tanta grandeza que o seu diametro se não pode atrauessar caminhando por todo dia, quero dizer de dentro sair ao campo. / e a metropoli e corte real, he Agrã, e as Vezes se passa a corte pera Fatepur e Laor.

A Terra Re mui fresca e toda entartalhada de Rios caudalosos: e entertecidos hũs com outros desde o Reino Sindi até o Rio ganges e mais Rios do Oriente porque todos estes Rios se communicão hũs com outros no Indostan, e as Agoas m. to brancas: e correm com tanta furia e impetu que com Agoa p'lo iocelho não podem passar elephantes, e a terra

the fortresses are built with walls of bricks, of little thickness, and not very strong, nor built according to art; and the houses (are) of the same kind, all of them of earth and covered with a terrace; and (there are) some royal palaces and edifices, and Mosques or Alcorans¹ of marble, roughly built, the joining being without lime or bitumen, the only joints being of iron or wood; and some cities (are) of such great size that their diameter cannot be traversed by travelling the whole day; that is, to go from within to the open country; and the metropolis and royal court is Agrã, and at times the court is shifted to Fatepur and Laor.

The country is fresh and wholly cut up by mighty rivers, intertwined one with another from the Kingdom (Rio=River?)² Sindi up to the River Ganges and other Rivers of the east, because all these rivers intercommunicate in Indostan,³ and the waters are very clear; and they flow with such force and violence that with water up to the knee

(P. 91.) 'Cette contrée comprend sept royaumes: Guzarate, Delhy, Purab, Caboul, Queximir, le Bengale, et Sindi, en dehors d'autres districts où government des Rajus ou Rajahs. Aujourd'hui, tous ces domaines ou gouvernements, ont pour chefs des Nababs qui gouvernent sous l'autorité du Roi Mogol Patxa. Le plus ancien et le plus important de ces gouvernements est Delhy, dans le royaume fondé par Tamerlan, qui conquit tout l'Hindoustan et dont l'œuvre fut achevée par ses successeurs.'

There are a few things in this translation to which one might object, among them the modernization of proper names.

My MS. has: 2o. clima, no 7o. paralelo; not 2o. clyma, no 1o paralelo' as in Janssen. For the spelling of the other proper names in my text, my decipherment can be depended on, as the MS. is a very clear and legible one.

¹ For Alcoran as a synonym for mosque or minaret, see Dalgado's *Glossario Luso-Asiático*, I. 22.

² *Reino* appears to be a misspelling of *Rio*.

³ Do they?

cria Metaes de ouro de Prata, e todo mais genero de Metaes e Mineraes, mas os Naturaes não se aproueirão destas Minas fertiliss. mas por carecer de Mineros. E cria grande quantidade de caualos, e todo genero de gado maior e menor. e Variedade de Aues e Montaria e nos Matos se criaõ grandes. Tigres, onças, camelos, e em partes hã desertos, en outras partes muita frescura, e campos cubertos de Mantimêto e toda sorte de grão e Arrôs. E os Naturaes fazem Vinhos de çerta frol ou fructa Mauh. com mistura de cascas de Aruore babuli, e sae estremado com que os Naturaes escusão os Vinhos de Palma de Indias.

(Fol. 78r.) A gente he robusta e pouco mimosae politica. Posto que bons genetarios com muito vso de Arco e frecha. porque a caualo matão a garça no ar. E os Modores legitimos descendem de Turcastan: Mas os Naturaes do Indostan são mesticos e criolos, Indostanos mui habiles em Artes Mecanicas como Teceloës de lindos panos e Alcatifas, e Mais officios Manuaes pera suas grangerias: e algũs delles se occupão em Artes liberaes/e os soldados: lascaris sempre trazem consigo

elephants cannot pass. And the country produces metals of gold and silver, and every other kind of metals and minerals, but the Natives do not profit by these very rich mines, because they lack miners. And it breeds in great quantity horses and every kind of cattle, big and small, and a variety of birds and of game; and in the thickets are found great tigers, ounces (=panthers), camels; and in parts there are deserts; and in other parts there is much freshness, and fields covered with food-stuffs and every kind of grain and rice. And the Natives make wines with a certain flower or fruit (called) Mauh,¹ with which they mix the bark of the Babuli tree,² and it is very good, so that the Natives can do without the palm-wines of the Indies.

(Fol. 78r.) The people are robust, but little refined and cultured; yet they are good horsemen, with much use of the bow and arrows; for, while on horseback, they kill the heron in the air. And the true Mogores come from Turcastan; but the natives of Indostan are a mixed race and creoles; the Indostanos are very skilled in mechanical arts, like weaving delicate cloths and carpets, and other handicrafts, where-with they make their profits; and some of them pursue liberal

¹ The Mahuã or Mahwã (Skt. *madhvũka*): *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Mohwa.

² Hind.: *babũl* or *babũr*: *Acacia arabica*, Willd. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. babool, and note there the passage from Thévenot, V. 50: 'L'eau de Vie de ce Pais . . . qu'on y boict ordinairement, est faite de jagre ou sucre noir, qu'on met dans de l'eau avec de l'écorce de l'arbre Baboul, pour y donner quelque force et ensuite on les distile ensemble.'

suas Armas, e algũs de espada e rodela, e outros de Arco e frecha ou lanca. ou de espingarda, assi a Infanteria como a caualeria: Mas gente maladestrada e pouco Artificiosa.

arts; and the lascari soldiers¹ always carry with them their weapons, some having sword and rodel (shield), and others bow and arrows, or a lance, or an espingarde, both the infantry and the cavalry; but they are badly trained and have little cunning.

GOZARATE.

O Reino gozarate he o mais antigo do Indostan, e por isso faremos delle mencaõ por sua antiguidade porque entre os Naturaes o nome gozarate significa Senhor da terra, como o declara aquella diçaõ rate. que significa senhor e a outra diçaõ goza, que significa terra e ambas as diçoẽs formão o nome Senhor da terra que he o mesmo que gozarate, como na Verdade este Reino floreceo no oriente senhoreando todo Indostan, e mais aquella parte de bisnaga por governo/ e o districto do gozarate consta de toda aq'la costa maritima da enseada de cambaya, e do sertão dela por... legoas espanholas de circumferencia, começando do Rio Bombain bati e Naogan. por Tanna, bacain. donde se estende polo Mediterraneo em forma oval, apartandose do Decam polos Montes Moler. galna. Nauali. gorza.

GOZARATE.

The Kingdom of Gozarate is the oldest in Indostan, and therefore we mention it for its antiquity, because among the Natives the name Gozarate means Lord of the land, as is shown by the word *rate*, which means *lord*, and the other word *goza*, which means *land*, the two words giving the meaning of Lord of the Land, which is the same as Gozarate;² and, indeed, this Kingdom flourished in the east, conquering and governing the whole of Indostan and also that part of Bisnaga. And the district of Gozarate comprises the whole of that sea-coast of the Bay of Cambaya, and the inland parts thereof within a circumference of Spanish leagues:³ commencing from the River Bombain⁴ (and?) Bati,⁵ and Naogan,⁶ by Tanna⁷ (and) Baçain,⁸ whence it extends ovally

¹ *Os soldados lascaris* must be the soldiers of the *lashkar* (army); *lashkar*=one belonging to the army, a soldier. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *lashcar*.

² Does not Gujarat mean the country of the Gujzr or Gūjars? The Gūjars would be the White Huns or Ephthalites of the 6th century. *Rate*=*rāshtra* (Skt.)=kingdom, country.

³ The blank was not filled in.

⁵ Bati is added, apparently in the same writing.

⁶ Elsewhere, *infra*, several times Nagaon.

⁷ Thana.

⁴ Bombay.

⁸ Bassein.

e polas serranias da Antiga corte champaner, continuando por a raya de Ialor, se aparta o gozarate do Deli, de chitor de Maluco por montes de Ranâ. de Abû. de Suray. de bardâ. ate ir feneçer na enseada cacha: no Mar de Iagat corruptamente Iaquete, ou Mar da India, de sorte que na parte do Norte o gozarate se aparta do Sindi por cacha, e se aparta de Deli por montes de Ranâ. e na parte do Sul se aparta este Reino de Chaul p' lo Rio Bombain, e R. bati. Nagaon.¹ e pola parte do Oriente se aparta do Decan. por Montes Moler e campos de biranapor: e polo occidents se aparta do Mar da India ou Mar de Iagat ou Iaquete por Dio: e/o Reino gozarate corruptamente chamamos cambaya, por causa de cambaya ser ô rosto da enseada.

by the Mediterranean, being separated from the Decan by the Mountains Moler, Galna, Nauali, Gorza, and by the ridges of the ancient court (of) Champaner;¹ (and), continuing by the boundary of Jalor,² Gozarate is separated from Deli, from Chitor of Maluco³ by the mountains of Ranâ,⁴ of Abû,⁵ of Surar,⁶ of Bardâ,⁷ until it ends in the Bay (of) Cacha,⁸ in the Sea of Jagat, corruptly (called) Jaquete, or the Sea of India;⁹ so that, on the side of the north, Gozarate is separated from the Sindi by Cacha, and is separated from Deli by the Mountains of Ranâ; and on the side of the south, this Kingdom is separated from Chaul by the River Bombain and the River Bati¹⁰ and Nagaon; and on the side of the east, it is separated from the Deccan by the Moler Mountains and the lands of Biranapor; and on the west, it is separated from the Sea of India or the Sea of Jagat or Jaquete by Dio; and we call the Kingdom of Gozarate corruptly by the name Cambaya, because

¹ Underlined (in pencil ?): e se aparta de Deli . . . Nagaon.

¹ Champāner, a ruined city in the Pāñch Mahāls, Bombay.

² Jalor in the Jodhpur State, Rājputāna.

³ This is the nearest reading; but a copyist may have made a confusion between Malwa and Maluco, i.e. the Molucca Islands.

⁴ The Rana of Udaipur or Mewar? These are the Aravalli Mountains.

⁵ Mount Abu.

⁷ Baroda?

⁶ Sirohi?

⁸ The Rann of Cutch.

⁹ In his map, Monserrate (*op. cit.*) speaks of the Ponta de Jaquete do Norte, and Punta do Sul.

¹⁰ 'e R. bati.' is added, apparently in the same hand; 'R. bati' is written again in the margin, by the same who added 'e R. bati'. Someone has underlined the passage 'e se aparta de Deli . . . Nagaon'.

O Primeiro Monarcha do gozarat se chamaua Vinjalmeta ou qadaxim,¹ e deste descêdê 36. gerações ou lignagês de nobreza de Rayâs como Tanvar, Choan, Pernal, (*Fol.* 78v) bergi e Risbuto, e outros muitos apelidos etc. e o Risbuto he apelido daquela real familia e caza e affirmão os Naturaes descender de Vsso Demonio Porq'o Ris signif. Vsso, e buto signif. Demonio.² E esta real descendencia permaneceu muitos annos governando ate o anno 1304. no Pontificado de Clemente 5.^o sendo Dom Denis Rei de Portugal, e então foi conquistado esta gentilidade polos Mourso por Zafarcán capitão del Rei Deli. que se aleuantou contra seu senhor por Armas foi coroado por Primr.o Rei Mouro do gozarat, e deste descendem os mais Reis: soltan Mahamet. seu f.o Mazafar. Hamet. cotobodin. Dauxâ Mahamet. Mazafar. Secandar. Mahamut. soltanbadur. Mahamut, outro Mahamut Hamut. Mazafar. que foi Vltimo dos Mouros Resbuto. a quem por guerra desbaratou el Rei Mogôr Hamû. 7.^o successor de Tamerland. no anno. . .

Cambaya is the head of the Bay.

The first Monarch of Gozarat was called Vinjalmeta or Qadaxim;¹ and from him are descended 36 noble generations or lineages of Rayas, as Tanvar, Choan, Pernal (*Fol.* 78v), Bergi, and Risbuto, and many other names, etc. And the name Risbuto is the name of that royal family and house, and the Natives assert they are descended from (a) Demon Bear, because *Ris* means *bear* and *buto* means *Demon*.² And this royal descendance continued governing many years, up to the year 1304, in the Pontificate of Clement V, Dom Denis being King of Portugal;³ and then this gentility was conquered by the Moors through Zafarcán, Captain of the King (of) Deli, who, revolting against his lord, took up arms; he was crowned first Moorish King of Gozarat, and from him are descended the other Kings: Soltan Mahamet, his son Mazafar, Hamet, Coto bodin, Dauxâ Mahamet, Mazafar, Secandar, Mahamut, Soltanbadur, Mahamut, another Mahamut, Hamut, Mazafar, who was the last of the Moorish Resbuto,⁴ the Mogôr King Hamû, 7th successor of Tamer-

¹ First: Ie chamaun Resbuto Indo gentio Idolatra.

² In margin: e o Risbuto he apelido . . . signif. Demonio.

¹ *Vinjalmeta* ou *qadaxim* is written above 4 cancelled words: '*Resbuto Indo gentio Idolatra*.—' Of these four words *Indo* is least clear.

² The passage: '*e o Risbuto he apelido . . . signif. Demonio*' is added in the margin by the same hand which made the other additions. —*Riksh*=bear; *bhut*=demon; but *Risbuto* must be: Rājput, Rājāputra.

³ Pope Clement V reigned from June 1305 to April 20, 1314.—Dom Denis reigned from 1279 to 1325.

⁴ Zafar Khān, the last governor, who was appointed in 1391, and had practically been independent, formally withdrew his allegiance in

e de entaõ a esta parte se desbaratou aquela real familia dos Resbuto, e somentes ficaraõ algũs espalhados pelo Mediterraneo deffendendo suas terras e praganãs, de Mantimentos de que se sustentaõ, assy o badur como o Resbuto de Langemer¹ ou castelete. e o Resbuto do Chotea. e o Resbuto de bagalana e o Resbuto de Locogi. e o Resbuto de Rana e outros Resbuto Rajas.

A gente deste Reino gozate naõ saõ bragmanes de bragma, de que ha. .84. linhagens no Reino de bisnaga como se imaginaua: Mas sao baneanes de outra especie de gentios Idolatras de que hã .12. familias seguintes. lara. xamali. Moro. guzer. Nagao. Humara. Osoao. Dixuual.² puruvada. Vxua.

land, having defeated him in war in the year¹ And from then until now only that royal family of the Resbuto was destroyed, and only some remained scattered in the Mediterranean (parts), who defended their lands and praganãs (which produce) victuals wherewith they maintain themselves: thus the Badur,² and the Resbuto of Langemer³ or Castelete (small castle?),⁴ and the Resbuto of Chotea,⁵ and the Resbuto of Bagalana,⁶ and the Resbuto of Locogi,⁷ and the Resbuto of Rana, and other Resbuto Rayas.

The people of this Kingdom of Gozate are not, as was thought, Bragmanes of Bragma, whereof there are 84 lineages in the Kingdom of Bisnaga; but they are Baneanes, of another kind of idolatrous gentios, whereof there are the following 12 families: Lara,⁸ Xamali,

¹ Langemer (?).

² Dixanol (?).

1401.' Cf. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, 268. Smith gives the following names of Gujarat kings: Zafar Khān; his son Nāsir-ud dīn Muhammad Shah, poisoned, apparently by his father, in 1407; Zafar Khān, under the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shāh (d. 1411); his grandson, Alp Khān, who took the title of Ahmad Shah (1411-1441); his grandson Sultan Mahmud Begarā or Bigarhā (1459-1511); his grandson Bahādur Shāh (1526-1537).

¹ A blank.

² Bahādur, son of Muzaffar Shāh III, alive in 1611, who lived 50 kos to the east of Ahmadabad. Cf. de Laet, *op. cit.*, 20.

³ The first letter of this word is not an *z*, as it wants the dot over the *z*, which we find in the capital *z* of the copyist; it may be an *l* or *t*.

⁴ Lower down we have Cotorā or Castelete. The word *castelete* is not in my Portuguese and Spanish dictionaries. Comparing it with the old French *chastelet* (*châtelet*), I surmise it can mean only a small castle.

⁵ The Portuguese called him in Choutia of Daman, and Dalgado (*op. cit.*, I, 280) connects the word with *chouto*=one-fourth part, on which see Dalgado, I, 281, and *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. chout.

⁶ Bāglān.

⁷ 'Locogi' appears more like a man's name.

⁸ *Lara*. To be connected with *Lār*, a name for Gujarat? Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Lar.

Dissaua Poluua. e todas estas familias se conseruaõ neste Rino com officios Mecanicos Porque os Nobres saõ Mercadores e corretores, e os de menor calidade saõ officiaes Teceloẽs Tintoreros, carpinteiros, e mais Artifices: cõ q' enriquecẽ e engradecem sua Patria comutando suas granjeiras com Ouro, e prata. e os Mais nobres de menino aprẽden ler, escreuer, e contar nos bacares, e escholas, e iuntamente aprendem a ordem da Mercançia, e o conhecimento e Valor e fineza das cousas para compra e Venda em que pretendem sempre enganar a todos, e sair Milhor do partido./ E nos contratos usaõ de Paleações e enganos com sotilezas, porque quando a pessoa cuida ter bẽm concluido o neg.o depois se acha enganado.

As serimonias acostumadas de baneanes. tanto que amanheçe cada dia lauaõ o corpo antes de comer. e sua comida Naõ he' Mais de Arros ou graõs cozidos, e ensopados em Manteiga com mistura de limoẽs passados por Vinagre, e a isto chamaõ Achar. e conseruas doçes e fructaes. e ortalica. e por nhũ caso comem carne (*Fol.* 79r) de nhũ gen.o de Animal. ou Aue ou Peixe.

Moro, Guzer,¹ Nagao, Humara, Osoao, Dixuual, Puruvada, Uxua, Dissaua, Poluua; and all these families maintain themselves in this Kingdom by means of mechanical occupations: for the Nobles are merchants and brokers, and those of lesser quality are handicraftsmen, weavers, dyers, carpenters, and other handicraftsmen, wherewith they enrich and aggrandize their country, exchanging their profits against gold and silver; and the nobles from childhood learn reading and writing and counting in the bazars, and schools, and at the same time they learn the method of trade, and the knowledge and value and fineness of things buyable and saleable, wherein they always aim at deceiving all, and having the better of the bargain. And in the contracts they use dissimulations, and tricks, and subtleties: for, when one thinks he has well concluded the business, by and by he finds himself deceived.

The ceremonies usual among the Baneanes are that at dawn they daily wash their body before eating; and their food consists only of rice and of grains cooked and sopped in butter, with a mixture of lemons steeped in vinegar, which they call Achar, and preserves, sweets, and fruits and greens. And on no account do they eat the flesh (*Fol.* 79r) of any animal or

¹ *Guzer.* Are not the Gujars or the Guzr of Central Asian origin who gave their name to Gujrāt, and Gujrānwāla in the Punjab and Gujarāt tract within Bombay Presidency? Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Goojur, Goozerat.

Porq' os baneanes tem pera si que o Animal Aue ou Peixe. tem Alma. aqual se traspassa de hũ corpo ẽ outro. por Morte. Por onde he prohibido matar qualquer criature que tenha Vide: e pera conseruar as Vidas de Aues. tem hospital de Pacaros em cambaya: e curaõ os Animaes e assi mais daõ a entender que tem Alma todo Vegetatiuo Plantas e Aruores conforme a doutrina de Pithagoras, contra a nossa Verdade.

E os Religiosos se chamaõ Verteas de que hã .85. especies de ordẽs chamados gachos e todos estes saõ leterados da secta. e grandes Astrologos iudiciarios. chiromanticos. nigromãticos. e sortilegios e Medicos erbolarios: e se sustentã de esmolos e fazem perigrinaçoẽs. ainda que os comũs Perigrinos saõ aq'les chamados Jogues. olim ginosophistas. e estes saõ desprezadores do mundo: e tam abstinentes na Vida que algũs se sustentã somentes de Agoa. e de ordinario tem o corpo cuberto de çinza, e fazem asperima Penitẽcia por Vaidade: e algũs delles saõ Magicos. Porque nas serranias de Danũ aচেy hum Jogue que sustentaua. 2. caẽs pretos ao longo de si. e os caẽs tomauãõ forma de Tigres quando elle

bird or fish, because they hold that, when animals, birds or fishes die, their soul passes from one body into another; hence it is forbidden to kill any creature having life; and to keep birds alive they have a bird hospital at Cambaya, and they cure the animals; and, besides, they give to understand that everything vegetative, plants, and trees, has a soul, according to the doctrine of Pythagoras, but against our truth.

And the Religious are called Verteas,¹ whereof there are 86 kinds of orders, called *gachos*, and all these are literati of the sect, and great judiciary astrologers, chiromancers, necromancers, and sorcerers, and herbalist doctors. And they live on alms and make pilgrimages, although the ordinary pilgrims are called Jogues, formerly Gymnosophists; and these are despisers of the world and so abstemious in their life that some live only on water; and generally they have their body covered with ashes; and they perform very hard penance out of vanity; and some of them are magicians; for in the mountain ridges of Danũ² I found a Jogue who kept two black dogs and (took them) along with him, and the dogs assumed the

¹ Dalgado (*op. cit.*, II. 413) connects Verleãs with the Skt. *vrātya*, a Hindu expelled from his caste; such individuals formed groups apart and went begging. *Vrātya*: a Hindu expelled from his caste for not observing the *samskaras* (sacraments), chiefly those of the investiture of the sacred cord. Dalgado, Gloss. Luso-Asiático, II. 413.

² Dahanu.

ordenaua pera guarda e segurança de sua pessoa.

form of tigers, when he ordered them, as a safeguard of his person.¹

¹ Cp. with Janssen, fol. 75v: 'India intra e extra, maior e menor, era povoada de Bragmanes Magos, grandes astrologos judiciarios, e professores da secta da idolatria que habittavão nos embocadores do Indo e Ganges: e depois se dividirão por respecto de sectas, de que seguirão especies de idolatria. E os Bragmanes, como cabeças e metropolitanos da secta, povoarão o Chersoneso ou península do Gatte, chamado Bittigo

Marco Polo Lib.
3, cap. 30, *chron. de*
Gozarath.

por Ptolemeo, no citio ou região de Lae, como notta Marco Pollo, no lib. 3, cap. 30, e deve ser o de Madure regio bragmanaraõ naquella parte de Choromandel de Plinio.* E aquelles Baneanes de 12 familias se recolherão no Gozarate e no Metropoli Tanna de Bombayn; como se mostra naquelles grandes e sumptuosos edificios de pagodes.

'Mas os Bragmanes se estenderão mais no oriente assy no lado Choromandel, como no sertão do Indostan, e Cocho do Ganges e Pegu que significa Pagou ou Pagode do Brama, e daquelle seu Perumal, e passarão a terras remotas, e seu principio foi da Taprobana de Ceylan antigo adoratorio.

'E os Iogues ou Veztheas,† como perigrinos não habittavão em lugar certo, mas era sua residencia naquella romagem do Ganges, onde todo mundo procurava na vida fazer hua peregrinação e romaria, e estes Iogues deve ser aquelles Gymnosophitas.†

(Translation by Janssen, p. 92.)

'L'Inde, en deça et au delà du Gange, Inde Majeure et Mineure, était peuplée de Brahmanes mages, très-experts en Astrologie et professant les croyances de la secte idolâtre, habitant les embouchures du Gange et de l'Indus, secte qui, depuis, s'est divisée en plusieurs confessions pratiquant des religions paiennes de diverses espèces. Ces Brahmanes, chefs et métropolitains des sectes, peuplèrent la chersonèse ou péninsule du Gatte que Ptolémée appelle Bittigo, dans (p. 93) la région de Lae,§ comme le renseigne Marco Polo dans son liv. III chap. XX. Et Madura|| doit être cette contrée primitivement peuplée par les Brahmanes dans cette partie du Coromandel, dont parle Pline.

'Douze familles de Banyans se retirèrent dans le Guyarate** et dans la métropole de Tanna, près de Bombay: c'est de là que datent ces grands édifices et ces somptueuses pagodes que l'on rencontre dans cette contrée.

* A line seems to have dropped here by Janssen.

† Vertreas in my MS., the only acceptable spelling.

‡ 'Ginosophistas' in my MS.

§ Le manuscrit porte Lae; Marco Polo écrit Lar. C'est la province de Guzarate ou le Konkan septentrional comprenant Saimur, le *Chaul* de nos jours. C'est l'opinion de Yule (Marco Polo, II. 302). Yule, après Marsden, remarque que Marco Polo a confondu Bramanes et Banyans, lesquels venaient de Guzarate.—(L. Janssen.)

I must differ from Yule here; the passage in Yule cannot be understood except for Coromandel; there was a second Lar where Marco Polo places it, in Coromandel. Godinho de Eredia understood Marco Polo correctly, and is not far wrong in identifying Lar with Madura.

|| Madura, Shahr-Mandi, de la côte de Coromandel (Yule, Marco Polo, II, 270).—(L.J.)

** Sic.

As cidades principaes era champaner. corte antiga de Raulpatai. de Resbutos e sua antiguidade mostra ser do tempo antes da Vinda de Christo nosso saluador. e depois se passou a corte pera Amadava Metropoli. cuio ambito e circumferencia sera pouco menos de duas legoas espanholas. onde os antigos aedificaraõ hum sumptuoso Tanque de forma exagonal laurado de Marmor de obra Ionica de hũa milha de ambito e tem mais .14. cidades no sertão Patan. citapor, bisalnagar. Serques. Ialor. Radampor. Amadana-gar. Toray. bismangi. Mama-daua./e no Maritimo tem cambaya na face do parcel seco. Surrate. baroche goga. candar. Iamucar. Alem de .64. Vilas e Aldeas.

A Terra he raza em campinas a perder de Vista cuberta de frescura de Plantas de Anil. e Amphion. e de todo genero

The chief city was Champ-ner, the ancient Resbuto court of Raulpatai, and its antiquity shows it existed before the coming of Christ our Saviour; and after that the royal court went over to Amadava,¹ the Metropolis, the circuit and circumference of which must be little less than two Spanish leagues; here the ancients built a sumptuous hexagonal tank, worked with marble, in Ionic style,² and one mile in circuit. It has besides 14 cities inland: Patan,³ Citapor, Bisalnagar, Serques,⁴ Ialor,⁵ Radampor,⁶ Amadanagar,⁷ Toray, Bismangi, Mamadāua;⁸ and in the maritime parts it has Cambaya in front of the dry bank (*parcel seco*), Surrate,⁹ Baroche,¹⁰ Goga,¹¹ Candar, Iamucar, besides 64 towns and villages.

The country is level, stretching in fields as far as the eye can see, and covered with (the) freshness of anil¹² and

'Mais les Bramanes s'étendirent plus encore vers l'Orient dans le Lae de Coromandel, dans l'intérieur de l'Hindoustan et le Cocho, terre sur le Gange, à Pégu, qui signifie Pagou, ou Pagode de Bramah, d'où venait Perumal, et de là ils passèrent dans les terres éloignées. Leur origine est dans la Taprobane, ou Ceylan qui fut leur ancien sanctuaire.

'Les Jogues* ou Veztheas, tribus nomades, n'avaient de lieu d'habitation fixe. Leur residence'était dans ces lieux sacrés du Gange où tout fidèle devait faire un pèlerinage durant sa vie. Il pourrait bien se faire que ces Jogues fussent les Gymnosophistes.'

¹ Ahmadabad.

² Have others noted this Ionic architecture? de Laet (*op. cit.*) notices at one league from Ahmadabad the tomb of a Kazi, the tutor of a king of Gujarat, which had 4 halls, in one of which were 440 marble columns 30 palms high, with epistyles and bases in the Corinthian style.

³ Prabhas Patan (Patan Diu). Cf. de Laet, *op. cit.*, 16n. 28.

⁴ Sarkhej, about 5 miles from Ahmadabad. Cf. *ibid.*, 22 n. 35.

⁵ Jālor. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷ Ahmadnagar.

¹⁰ Broach.

⁸ Mehmabad.

¹¹ Gogo.

⁶ Radhanpur.

⁹ Surat.

¹² Indigo.

* Les Jogues ou Gosaings, ou Ganyassis, sorte de moines mendiants (Ritter, VI, 646).—(L.J.)—Read: Sanyasis.

de grangerias. Algodan, Azeites. Acucar. sabon. e fructaes e todo genero de Mantimento e ortalica. e a terra regada de Rios do sertão, e cõ criação de gado Maior e manor/e os Matos cõ Veados e porcos e toda sorte de Montaria e Volatilla, e cria Tigres e oncas e camelos. e produz Metaes e Mineræes de Iaspes Medicinaes. e se achão Vetas de gesso e de cal. e de salitre. e a terra he de Natura sica e calorosa.

(Fol. 79v) O Anil, he Planta. de altura de couado, e as folhas quasi da forma de baldroegas com 6. ou 7. folhas em ramo: de que hã muita quantidade em campos beneficiados: e creçe a Planta ate arebentar flores. e entãõ se arancaõ as ditas Plantas e as estenden ao sôl por dia: e depois de mortificadas se poem de molho em tinhas grandes de Agoa e com a putrefação se engrossa e se coalha aq'la Agoa ficando em Talhadas de Anil.

O Amphion, he Planta de altura de couado e meio: e as folhas quasi da forma de Rabaõs, e a fructa chamada Posto como hũa pequena granada ou Roman Verde com sementes dromideras. e ferindo aquele Pomo cõ caniuete, Mana

amphion¹ plants, and every kind of tillage, algodan,² oil, sugar, soap,³ and fruits, and every kind of foodstuffs and greens. And the country (is) watered by inland rivers, and it maintains cattle, big and small. And the thickets have deer and boar, and every kind of game and volatiles, and it breeds tigers, and ounces, and camels; and it produces metals, and minerals of medicinal jaspers; and there are found veins of parget and lime and saltpetre; and the land is of a dry and hot nature.

(Fol. 79v.) The Anil is a plant growing to the height of one *covado*, and the leaves are almost of the shape of *baldroegas*,⁴ with 6 or 7 leaves per branch; there is great quantity of it in cultivated fields;⁵ and the plant grows until it flowers, and then the said plants are pulled out and laid in the sun during the day; and when they have died they are put to soak in great vats of water, and with the putrefaction that water swells and foams, and there remain lozenges of anil.

The Amphion is a plant growing to the height of the *covado* and a half: and the leaves are shaped like radish leaves; and the fruit, called *Posto*,⁶ is like a small granada or green pomegranate, with poppy seeds; and, on

¹ Opium.

² Cotton.

³ The fruit of the *Sapindus trifoliatus*, Linn., the soap of the Canarins. Cf. Dalgado, *op. cit.*, II. 267.

⁴ Not found in my dictionaries.

⁵ I translate *campos beneficiados* doubtfully by 'cultivated fields', one of the meanings of *beneficiar* being to cultivate, to till, to improve, to better.

⁶ *Posto* is the poppy-head or capsule; also the drug.

certo licor da sangradura ou golpe pera Medicinas de Mouros. e o licor se chama Amphion.

A enseada de cambaia tem .2. costas Maritimas, Oriental de norte sul. e occidental de Nordestesudueste./e o embocadoro tem de largo .23. legoas. e dahi se estreita até 6. legoas nos sorgidoros de Surrate, e goga. donde começa o Parcel seco dos Macareos, e se estreita até .3. legoas, até o porto de cambaia. e dahi continuando a enseada em forma de Rio faz volta pera o sertão em Sarode. sempre por Parcel seco. saluo de Mare chea em Agoas Viuas de lunaçoês. e então se navega em Nauios de Reme. polos canaes do Parcel./E pera mais declaração he de notar que os Parceles começaõ do embocadoro da enseada com .2. grandes restingas, de sorte que a restinga occidental tem .13. bracas, e a outra restinga oriental tem .10. braças. e ambas se estendẽ do sul bera o Norte diminuindo até o parcel seco dos Macareos entre surrata e goga donde o dito Parcel seco chega ao Porto de cambaia: e entre estes Parceles ha .3. canaes. conuẽ a saber. canal da costa

striking that apple with a penknife, there flows a certain liquid from the cut or wound, which is used in Moorish medicines; and the liquid is called Amphion.

The Bay of Cambaia has two sea-coasts: an eastern one, running from north to south; and a western one, running from north-east to south-west. And the mouth is 23 leagues broad; and from there it narrows to 6 leagues at the roadsteads of Surrate and Goga, where begins the dry bank (shoal)¹ of the Macareos;² and it narrows to 3 leagues up to the port of Cambaia; and, continuing thence in the form of a river, the Bay turns inlandwards at Sarode,³ always (along) the dry bank, (and) except when the sea fills with the running waters of (the) changes of the moon,⁴ they navigate in row-boats by the channels of the bank (shoal). And, to describe things more fully, one must note that the banks (shoals) begin from the mouth of the Bay with two shallows, the western shallow having 13 braces, and the other shallow, the eastern one, 10 braces; and both run from north to south, diminishing up to the dry bank of the Macareos between

¹ *Parcel seco*. A *parcel* is a hidden rock or bank, according to my Portuguese dictionaries; a *seco* is dry ground.

² On the *Macareo* (bore) *macrée*, *mascaret*, see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Macareo*; and Dalgado, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Macareu*.

³ Jarod. See de Laet, *op. cit.*, 19.

⁴ I am not sure of the meaning of '*saluo . . . de Reme*,' chiefly of the transcription of the first word *saluo*, which I read, however, twice independently as *saluo*.

Saluon (a ship is rolling in rough water) would seem to be the correct word, at least the correct word in modern Portuguese. (P. D., S. J.)

occidental e canal da costa oriental, e canal do Meio do embocadoro e por estes canaes ha fundo de 20. braças no embocadoro. e dahi diminuindo ate 5. bracas no sorgidoro de surrate e goga: e polos canaes do Parcel seco dos Macareos ha .4. ou .3. bracas ate o porto de cambaia.

E os Rios da costa oriental são os seguintes. Nagaon, bati,¹ e bombain. bandora. Arpa, bacain. Dantora. Main. Tarapor. Danû. Iamori de Malauares. Soiana. marori. Damaõ. coulec. Humorsari. balçar. ganadaui. Ialapor. Naucari. camiani. Surrate. Suali. bagoa. badri. baroche. ropagan. dador. gandar. a ponta. porto de cambaia.

E os Rios da costa occidental são os seguintes: Mudafarabas ou Madrefaul. Chaus. Moa. cotorá ou castelete. Zanziber. Taloja co restinga. Motabaro.

Surrate and Goga, whence the said dry bank reaches up to the port of Cambaia; and between these banks there are three channels: namely, the channel of the western coast, and the channel of the eastern coast, and the channel in the middle of the mouth; and by these channels there is bottom at 20 braces in the mouth; and the depth diminishes thence to 5 braces at the roadstead of Surrate and Goga; and by the channels of the dry bank of the Macareos there are 4 or 3 braces up to the port of Cambaia.

And the rivers of the east coast are the following: Nagaon, Bati, and Bombain,¹ Bandora,² Arpa, Baçain,³ Dantora, Main, Tarapor,⁴ Danû,⁵ Jamori of (the) Malavares,⁶ Soina, Marori, Damaõ,⁷ Coulec,⁸ Humorsari, Balçar,⁹ Ganadaui,¹⁰ Jalapor,¹¹ Naucari,¹² Camiani, Surrate,¹³ Suali, Bagoa, Badri, Baroche,¹⁴ Ropagan, Dador, Gandar, the Point, the Port of Cambaia.

And the rivers of the western coast are the following: Mudafarabas or Madrefayal,¹⁵ Chaus, Moa,¹⁶ Cotorá or Castelete, Zanziber, Taloja

¹ 'But' is inserted.

¹ Bombay.

² Bondra.

³ Bassein.

⁴ Tarapur.

⁵ Dahanu.

⁶ How was this place called 'of the Malabares'? Was it a nest of Malabar pirates?

⁷ Daman.

⁸ Beyond Daman, northwards, Monserrate places. Couleca in Lat.

20. 26½ (*op. cit.*, 53).

⁹ Bulsar.

¹⁰ Gandevi.

¹¹ Jalapur.

¹² Navsari.

¹³ Surat.

¹⁴ Broach.

¹⁵ Jafarabad?

¹⁶ Mhow.

quederpur. gondi. goga.
(Fol. 80r) Xacar. Rogo de
Mosquitos. Fatel. nola. chaneri.
xabol. borcan. condol.

A cituação de gozarate está em parte na Torrida Zona, e em parte na Temperada, Porq' de bombain de Nagaon se estende por .19. graos .10. m. no. 6. paralelo. no fim do 1.º clima. do dia de .13. oras .15. m. ate os tezminos de Ialor em .25. graos 10. m. no 8. Paralelo quasi no fim do 2. clima do dia de .13. oras. .45. m.

DELI.

O Reino Deli se estende dos terminos e a raya de Ialor. em .25. gr. e 10. m. e dos Mon (tes) do gate de .21. grao. 14. m. ate os terminos de cabul em .32. gr. 40. m./ (e da parte do norte tem cabul, e da parte do sul tẽ gozarate. /e da parte do Or(iente tem) Purat. e da parte do occidente tem Sindi. / e este Reino Deli foi o prinçip(al) do Indostan (Antes da Monarchia de Tamerland.) E o Primr. Rei de De(li) foi soltan Mahamet sabectagin. e deste descenderaõ .36. Reis Mahumethanos até socceder Tamerland. fundador da noua Monarchia de Mogôres,

with (a) shallow,¹ Motabaro, Quederpur, Gondi, Goga,² (Fol. 80r) Xacar, Rogo de Mosquitos (Entreaty of Mosquitos),³ Fatel, Nola, Chaneri, Xabol, Borcan, Condol, Port of Cambaia.

The situation of Gozarate is partly in the Torrid Zone and partly in the Temperate Zone: for from Bombain of Nagaon it extends from 19 degrees and 10 minutes in the 6th parallel, at the end of the 1st climate, where the day is of 13 hours and 15 minutes, up to the frontiers of Jalor in 25 degrees and 10 minutes, in the 8th parallel, almost at the end of the second climate, where the day is of 13 hours and 45 minutes.

DELI.

The kingdom of Deli stretches, from the boundaries and limit of Jalor, in 25 degrees and 10 minutes, and from the Mountains of the Gate,⁴ in 21 degrees and 14 minutes, up to the boundaries of Cabul, in 32 degrees and 40 minutes. And on the north side it has Cabul; and on the south side, it has Gozarate; and on the east side, it has Purat;⁵ and on the west side, it has Sindi. And this kingdom of Deli was the chief one of Indostan (before the monarchy of Tamerland). And the first king of Deli was Soltan Mahamet Sabectagin;⁶ and from him

¹ Talaja.

² Gogo.

³ *Rogo de Mosquitos* should mean: Entreaty of Mosquitoes. I do not find that *rogo* has the value of the Latin *rogus*: a pyre.

⁴ Ghats.

⁵ Read: Purab.

⁶ Sabuktigin, Amir of Ghazni, made his first inroad into India in A.D. 986-987. Cf. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, 190.

e continuou a ordem dos Reis até o presente de Nurudin Mahamet Zanguir Patxâ cazi. ano 1611.

A Terra he Montuosa e aspera com desertos, e a gente mais nobre do Indostan porque residem na corte real de Agrâ Metropoli. onde concorrem todos os Mercadores da Persia Astracan, e da costa do mar de sala. e da Russia. e tambem de Turcastan. do cata ou cathai. e chinas. e da maior parte de Tartaria. e os Mercadores se recolhe cõ riquezas da praça de Agrâ pera suas Patrias.

descended 36 Maumethan kings until Tamerland succeeded, who was the founder of the new Monarchy of (the) Mogores; and the line of the Kings continued up to the present one, Nurudin Mahamet Zanguir Patxâ Cazi, in the year 1611.

The country is mountainous and rough, with deserts; and the people are the noblest of Indostan, because they reside at the royal court of Agrâ, the Metropolis, where meet all the merchants of Persia, and Astracan, and from the coast of the Sala sea¹ and from Russia, and also from Turcastan, and from Cata or Cathai, and the Chinas, and from the greater part of Tartary: and from the market of Agrâ the merchants return with riches to their country.

PURAT.

Este Reino Purat. fica no oriente de Deli. donde se estende até o Rio ganges/ e tem da parte do Norte .31. gr. 50. m. e da parte do sul. tem .21. gr. 16. m. e o dito Reino Purat polo norte se aparta de cabul. e polo sul se aparta de Orias ou orixa. e polo occidente de Deli. e polo oriente do Rio ganges. e Patanes. e tem o melhor Mercado e praça, onde se despende toda sorte de roupas e

PURAT.²

This kingdom (of) Purat lies to the east of Deli, whence it extends up to the River Ganges. And on the north side, it is in 31 degrees and 50 minutes; and on the south side, it has 21 degrees and 16 minutes. And the said kingdom of Purat is separated from Cabul on the north;³ and on the south it is separated from Orias or Orixá; and on the west from Deli, and on the east from the River Ganges.

¹ Is not this the Caspian Sea? The Mare Caspis is Janssen, map facing p. 70?

² From *pūrab*; Skt. *pūrva*, 'the East'. 'In Upper India the term usually means Oudh, the Benares Division and Behar.' Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Poorab.

³ It is surprising that Cabul should be mentioned as bordering on the Pūrab. The map in Janssen's work, fol. 782, shows the northern parts of India, very incorrectly.

outras Mercançias pera as partes circunuezinhas de bengala.

and Patanes,¹ and it has the best market and fair, where is produced every kind of cloths and (of) other merchandise for the neighbouring countries of Bengala.

CABUL.

Cabul, he o mais is septentrional Reino do Indostan, e pola Vezinhança, que tem cõ Vsbeques (*Fol.* 80v) e Samarcand. Muitos dos Naturaes tem tratto do serto. e outros rosticos lauradores residem em suas lauouras e campos da fralda dos Montes Naugracot. e pola abundancia de Agoas dos Rios que decem daq'les Montes. se alagaõ os campos cõ lagunas e Pantanos com que a terra esta sempre bem cuberta de frescura: e o Rio chamado cana que deçe dos Montes altisimos de belôr e passa por baixo dos Montes Naugracot por .12. legoas de distancia como o Rio guadiana de Espanha, e se estende da baza dos ditos Montes ate o Mar do Sindi. / E a terra cria muito gado Maior e menor. cõ muita criação de toda sorte como se

CABUL.

Cabul is the most northern Kingdom of Indostan; and, by its proximity to (the) Usbeques (*Fol.* 80v) and Samarcand, many of the Natives have inland commerce; and others, rustics, live among their tillage and fields on the skirts of the Naugracot Mountains; and, owing to the abundance of the waters coming down from those mountains, the fields overflow into lagoons and pools, whereby the country is always well covered with freshness. And the River called Cana, which comes down from the very high mountains of Belôr and passes below the Naugracot Mountains at a distance of 12 leagues, (is) like the River Guadiana in Spain, and extends from the base of the said mountains up to the Sea of Sindi.² And the country

¹ Patna.

² Only the Indus or an affluent of the Indus could flow into the Sea of Sindi. What then is meant by the Cana River flowing from the Mountains of Belôr (not identified) and passing below the Nagarkot Mountains, i.e. the Himalayas?

Of Astrakhan Godinho notes (*Janssen*, fol. 75v):

'Da parte occidental tem o ryo Boristhenes, e da parte austral os montes de *Belor*, e terra alagadica de Cayra.' Of Turkestan (*ibid.*, fol. 75r): 'Tem da parte septentrional os altissimos montes *Belor*.' Of Samarkand or 'Pamerkan': 'Significa provincia de Pamer, nome daquelles valles de montes *Belor*' (*ibid.*). Elsewhere, fol. 71v: 'E bem pode ser seja o citio da cayra de *Belor* onde se achão Judeus Israelitas recolhidos, como o notta Apiano e os cosmographos, e parece difficuloso passar os tribus a America.' Finally he has a short chapter on '*Bellor*': (fols. 67v-68r): 'A região de *Belor*, e os seus alterosos montes nevados de perpetuo inverno (*Fol.* 68r) tem muytos pantanos e alagadicos, e as agoas destas fontes decam pollo Ganges ao mar gangetico, e pollo Obio ao mar

acha entre o Douro e Minho de breeds much cattle, big and
Portugal. / E tem da parte do small, and domestic animals of

congelado: e nesta região na baza de montes de pratta habitão aquelles Ruxenos Israelitas ou Judeus recolhidos no citio de Cayra, ou Arsareth região; e devem ser aquelles tribus do lib. 4, Esdr. cap. 13, que por se desviar da gentildade e idolatrias, escolherão lugar remotto e bem apartado do idolatros pera milhor se occupar nas serimonias.'

(*Translation by Janssen*, p. 82): 'La région de Bellor et ses hautes montagnes, dont les cîmes sont couvertes par les neiges d'un hiver perpétuel a beaucoup de marécages et des terres humides. Elle déverse les eaux de ses sources par le Gange, dans la mer Gangétique et, dans la mer de Glace, par l'Obi. C'est dans cette région, au pied des montagnes Argentifères qu'habitaient ces Ruxènes Israélites ou Juifs, qui furent reçus dans la ville de Cayra dans la région d'Arsareth. Ces Ruxènes doivent être ces tribus dont parle l'Ecriture (Esdras liv. IV, ch. XIII) qui, pour se garer des idolâtres, se retirèrent dans un endroit désert et isolé où ils pouvaient se livrer plus aisément aux cérémonies de leur culte.'

Elsewhere (fol. 71r & v) Godinho writes about these Jews: 'Ainda que mostra ser o caminho por Tharsis ou Persia, olim Pharsis, que era mais franqueado e antigo pera as Scythas e Serica, por onde depois do Euphrates, passarão os tribus de Israel a Arsareth, como nota 4 Esdr. 13. E por que este caminho da Persia era de anno e meio ate Arsareth, bem pode ser seja o mesmo por terra de Salomon, com ida e vinda gastar 3 annos, anno e meio na ida e anno e meio na vinda. Mas como estas naos de Salomon por carga traziaô ouro, pedreira e madeira excelente, e outras riquezas do mar Gangettico daquelle tratto de Ganges era o mais corrente caminho de embarcações pera o sertão da Serica, como notta os Escriitores e Ptholemeo. E não me entremetto em determinar o citio de Arsareth, do 4 Esdr. 13, daquelles 10 tribus que forão levadas (Fol. 71v) em captiveiro em tempo del Rey Osee, o qual levou cativo Salmanazar, Rey dos Ass-rios e a estes passou a outra banda do ryo e forão trasladados a outra terra, e determinarão deixar a multidão dos gentios e passar a outra região mais apartada donde nunca habitou o genero humano, pera guardar ahy sua ley, aqual não guardarão em sua terra. Entrarão pois por humas entradas estreitas do ryo Euphrates, porquella fez e Altissimo então com elles maravilhas, e deteve os correntes do ryo ate que passassem, porque por aquella região, era o caminhe muy largo de ano e meio, e chamase Arsareth.'

(*Translation by Janssen*, p. 87): 'Comme, d'une part, c'est la route de Tharsis, ou de Perse (autrefois Pharsis), route depuis longtemps la plus fréquentée parmi les Scythes de la Sérique, que prirent les tribus d'Israël vers Arsareth après avoir traversé l'Euphrate, ainsi qu'il est dit dans Esdras, IV, 13, et comme, d'autre part, il fallait un an et demi pour parcourir cette route de Perse vers Arsareth, il est probable que c'est ce chemin qui fut suivi par Salomon puisqu'il mit trois ans pour accomplir son voyage, soit un an et demi pour l'aller et un an et demi pour le retour.'

'Mais comme les vaisseaux de Salomon avaient chargé de l'or, des pierreries, d'excellents bois et d'autres richesses de la mer Gangétique, c'est ce commerce du Gange qui formait le chemin le plus direct des vaisseaux pour se rendre dans la Sérique, ainsi que daissent les Ecritures et Ptolémée.'

'Quant à la situation d'Arsareth, dont parle Esdras, IV. 13, je n'entreprendrai pas de la déterminer. Cette ville fut fondée par dix tribus qui furent emmenées en captivité au temps du roi Osée que Salmanazar, roi des Assyriens, fit prisonnier. Celui-ci passa sur l'autre rive avec ces tribus et les transporta sur une autre terre. Ces tribus se déterminèrent à se séparer de la multitude des païens, et à s'en aller vers une autre région plus écartée, ou jamais l'homme n'avait habité, pour observer la loi que, dans leur patrie, ils n'avaient pas respectée. Ils y

Norte os Montes Naugracot. e da Barte do sul. Queximir. / e de Occidente a Persia. e de Oriente o Rio ganges. e Montanhas de cascar e Tebeth. / e da Parte do Norte tem .41. gr. 23. m. / e da parte do sul .32. gr. 6. m.

every sort, as is found between the Douro and Minho of Portugal. And on the side of the north, it has the Naugracot Mountains; and on the side of the south, Queximir; and on the west, Persia; and on the east, the River Ganges¹ and the Mountains of Tebeth; and on the north side, it has 41 degrees and 23 minutes; and on the south side, it has 32 degrees and 6 minutes.

QUEXIMIR.

Este Reino postoque pequeno em ambito todavia he grande em riqueza Porque tem muitas Minas de ouro, de Prata, e de toda sorte de Metaes e Mineraes. nos Montes Prosonay. Mas os Naturaes naõ se aproueito destas fertilissimas Minas por carecer de Mineros. e a terra quasi toda he Montuosa e aspera por todo ambito do Reino, e nos Vales tem muita frescura, e a terra cria toda sorte de gado Maior e menor. e produce todo genero de Mantimentos.

E por este Reino Queximir esta aberto caminho corrente, entre as serranias de Thebeth pera a parte de lesueste descobriraõ o nouo Reino de SIM. Descoberto por minha industria por Via de Perigrinos que passaraõ de Indostan pera o

QUEXIMIR.²

This Kingdom of Queximir, although small in circuit, is yet great in wealth; for it has many mines of gold and silver, and of every kind of metals and minerals in the Prosonay Mountains; but the Natives do not profit by these rich mines, for want of miners. And the country is almost entirely mountainous and rough, through the whole extent of the kingdom; and in the valleys it has great freshness; and the country breeds every kind of cattle, great and small; and it produces every kind of foodstuffs.

And by this Kingdom of Queximir there lies a frequented road, between the mountain ridges of Tebeth, to go to Cathay or Catâ; and continuing by the same road from Thebeth, in an east-south-east direction, they discovered the

entrèrent par une des embouchures étroites de l'Euphrate, et Dieu fit alors pour eux un miracle en retenant les courants du fleuve jusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent passés. Ils firent ensuite sur le fleuve un long voyage d'un an et demi et fondèrent Arsareth.'

¹ The Indus rather.

² Kashmir.

Sim e Voltarao pera cambaya, o qual Reino he de Chinas, Mas gente de milhor forma e Philosomia. / tem Rei proprio Natural, e o Reino abundante de çedas e louça Almisere, e toda sorte de dourados e brincos como da China. Mas Reino que se naõ comunica cõ os Reinos circunuesinhos e o

new Kingdom of SIM.¹ It was discovered through my industry, by means of pilgrims who went from Indostan to Sim and returned to Cambaya.² That kingdom is of Chinese, but has a people of better form and physiognomy. It has its own native king, and the kingdom abounds

¹ Sim can be only China. The new kingdom of Sim appears to be some part of Tibet. I dare hardly propose Nepal, though beyond Nepal Hindustani would not have been understood except by merchants from India meeting Indian merchants settled down in those parts, as at Lhasa.

² Cp. with fol. 65r & v in Janssen's work: 'Tebet esta dividida em Marco Polo. Tebet maior boreal e Tebet minor austral, e o caminho de Tebet pera o Cathay se faz com facilidade, por Indostan ou Mogor por via de Quiximir, donde se passa Alar e entre serranhas a Meiro, e por outros lugares ate o rio de Tebet Maior, e dahy por muytas povoacões ate Lassam, donde comença o districto de Cathay por Tendue ate Cambalo. E (Fol. 65v) do dito Tebet ha caminho pera Cottear ou Cottam e Sim, por via de Queximir, como manifestão os Indostanes que do Moger e Queximir passarão ao Cathay e Sim, e voltarão a Cambaya, no tempo da governação de Xech Abdoraen, governador daquelle estado no anno 1611.

'Antigamente o caminho pera o Cathay era por Turcastan e deserto de Lop, donde passavão a Tangut e dahi ao Cathay. E tambem o caminho era por o ditto Turcastan e Cascar ou Carcan ou Hircande e dahi a Tebet e ao Cathay: mas o caminho facil he por Indostan ou Mogor por Queximir e dahy por Tebet, Aranda, Cottan ate Cathay.'

(Translation by Janssen, p. 76): 'Tebet se divise en Tebet Majeure ou Boréale, et Tebet Mineure ou Australe. Le chemin de Tebet vers le Cathay se fait aisément par l'Hindoustan et Mogor, par voie de Quiximir. L'on passe à Alar puis à Meiro, entre des chaînes de montagnes et l'on gagne Tebet Majeure. Puis, traversant de nombreuses populations on atteint Lassam où commence le district du Cathay qui va de Tendue à Cambalo.

'De Tebet, il y a également une route pour Cottear ou Cottam et Sim, par Quiximir, comme le renseignent les gens de l'Hindoustan qui, de Mogor et Quiximir passèrent au Cathay et à Sim et revinrent au Cambodge sous le gouvernement de Zech Abdoraen en 1611.'

Cambaia is not Cambodia, but Cambay in Gujarat.

L'on avait donné le nom de Coc Sim ou Chine Majeure au pays de Coc Sim ou Cachinchine, qui était dépendant du Mansim, bien qu'il parût dépendre du Sim. Cette province de Sim, où se trouvaient des Chrétiens chaldéens et qui était inconnue jusqu'à ce que le descobridor en entendit parler, formela côté occidentale du Mansim. Jusqu'en 1611, quand fut découverte la province de Sim par la voie de l'Hindoustan, l'on ne comptait en Chine que les deux contrées désignées respectivement sous les noms de Mansim et de Cochinchine.' (Janssen's Translation, p. 76.)

Godinho de Eredia says that the ancients divided China into Sim, or Chim, Mansim or Manchim, called Maior China, and Coc Sim or Cochim or Menor China. (64v) Among the five Kingdoms of Tendue, he places, giving for reference Marco Polo: (1) Gog; (2) Magog, de lapis Azul; (3) Cindacui; (4) Cranganor; (5) Jendu, 'com montes Idiffa de pratta'. (65r).

çitio he deffenssaue por ser
 çercado de Montes ao redor
 do Reino, de sorte que os
 Montes serue de Muralha entre
 o Indostan e Mangin china.
 / e alem da experiêcia dos
 Perigrinos: Tambem o declaraõ
 as Istorias do Indostan, e
 aquele Itinerario de Alexandre
 Magno chamado escander, es-
 crito em letra Arabia na lingua
 Persia e por cima de tudo faz
 Mençaõ deste Reino SIM. os
 concilios caldeos que estaõ nos
 (Fol. 81r) Archiuos do Arceb'-
 pado da Serra. ou Angamale
 antigamente sufraganeo ao
 Patriarcha de babilonia porqto.
 este Reino era pouoado de
 Christaos Nestorianos / e
 finalmente nossos escritores
 fazem mençaõ do Sim e Mangin
 e naõ declaraõ o citio do Sim.
 nem do Iendo e deue ser o
 Tenduc / e da parte do Norte
 tem cabul, e da parte do sul
 tã Purat. e da parte do occi-
 dente Persia. e da parte do
 Oriente tem os Montes de
 Tebeth. e de altura do Norte,
 tem na parte septêtrional .40.
 gr. 16. m. / e no sul .31. gr.
 50. m.

in silks, and earthenware,¹
 almiscere,² and every kind
 of gilt articles and of pretty
 baubles like those of China;
 but it is a kingdom that does
 not communicate with the
 neighbouring kingdoms. And
 its position is defensible, as
 mountains surround the whole
 kingdom, so that the moun-
 tains serve like a wall between
 Indostan and Mangin China.³
 And, besides the expe-
 rience of the pilgrims, the
 histories of Indostan also speak
 of it, and that Itinerary of
 Alexander the Great, called
 Escander, which is written in
 Arabic characters in the Per-
 sian tongue; and, above all,
 this kingdom of SIM is men-
 tioned in the Chaldean Coun-
 cils which are in the (Fol. 81r)
 Archives of the Archbishopric
 of the Serra or Angamale,
 which anciently was suffragan
 to the Patriarch of Babylon,
 because this kingdom was
 peopled with Nestorian Chris-
 tians;⁴ and, finally, our
 writers speak of Sim Mangin,
 and they do not explain the
 situation of Sim, nor of Iendo,⁵

¹ Louça is dishes, plates, pots and other like ware. *Louça da India*=
 China-ware.

² Musk.

³ A curious mixture of Mahāchina and China.

⁴ The Archives of the Archbishopric of the Serra (Mountains of
 Malabar) or Angamale did mention Bishops sent to China and Mahā-
 china, but the difficulty in Malabar about 1600 was to know where Mahā-
 china (Great China) was located.

⁵ Manuel Godinho de Eredia here identifies Iendo with the Tenduc
 of Marco Polo, where there were Nestorian Christians. Cp. with Janssen
 (fol. 65v-66r): 'A Christandade do Cathay da India superior foi fundada
 por lo Apostolo S. Thome ou por seu discipolo no
 tempo do pontificado de Lino, anno 69 do nacimiento
 de Christo nosso Salvador, e postoque os Argones
 Christaos estavam espalhados por todo Cathay, todavia os Consilios
 Caldeos, que se acharão nos archiuos do (Fol. 66r) Arcebispaço da
 Serra ou Angalame, suffraganeos ao Patriarcha de Babilonia fazem
 menção dos Christãos de Jendu, chamado corruptamente Tenduc: e

E entre as serranias de and it must be the Ten-
Tebeth. e as serranias de duc. And on the side of the

tambem os dittos Consilios fazem menção dos Christãos de Sim pollos papeis que me apresentou o mestre de Caldeos, o P. Juan Maria da Comp. a de Jesu, E alem desta informação affirma Marco Polo Veneto liv. 2.

Marco Polo. Liv. ser povoada de Christãos muyta parte do Athay
2, cap. 6. e Mansim, porque o Mansim ou China era governada
por governador christão chamado Marsarsis ou

Marsalis: onde ædificue igrejas no anno 1268: e no anno seguinte a requerimento de Coblay Tartaro, por ordem de P. P. Gregorio X, passarão de Roma ao Cathay 2 sacerdotes theologos de Ancona, chamados Nicolas e Guilhermo. E Garibay, na sua Istoria Pontifical, tratta de Fr. Anselmo com seus companheiros, religiosos da ordem dos Pregadores, que, por licença do P. P. Innocencio Vº. passarão a empreza do Cathay. E sobre esta Christandade escreve S. Antonino. E porque são terras do sertão septentrional, não temos muyta communicacão desta gente, somentes sabemos delles que entendem o Caldeo. E porisso he de crer foi muyto prospera aquella Christandade de Jendu do Cathay, e por Christãos valerosos e esforçados forao nomeados e mandados por Cublay Tartaro Emperador pera a conquista de Mansim, e foi conquistada por estes Christãos Alanos, como nota Marco Polo Veneto no lib. 2. cap. 62. E bem pode ser sejão estes os Alanos, que

Macro Polo. Lib. 2, entrarão em Espanha no tempo de Arcadio e Honorio,
cap. 62. primeiro que os Gôdos, anno 412, porquanto estes Alanos da entrada de Espanha erão da Scythia, e os

Gôdos da Gothia.

(*Translation by Janssen, p. 77*): 'La religion chrétienne fut introduite dans l'Inde Supérieure, bu Cathay, par l'apôtre St. Thomas ou par ses disciples, sous le pontificat de Lin, en l'an 69 de l'ère chrétienne. Et non seulement dans tout le Cathay se trouvaient répandus de ces Argonautes chrétiens, mais encore les canons des conciles de Chaldée, qui se trouvaient dans les archives de l'Archevêché de Serra ou Angomale, suffragant du Patriarche de Babilone, font mention des chrétiens qui existaient à Iendu, ou par corruption Tenduc. Ces conciles parlent aussi des chrétiens de Sim. C'est ce dont j'ai pu me convaincre par l'examen des documents que m'a communiqué le maître des Caldéens, le père Jean Marie de la Compagnie de Jésus.

'En dehors de ces renseignements, nous trouvons dans Marco Polo, liv. II, cette affirmation que la plus grande partie de l'Attay et de Mansim était gouvernée par un chrétien appelé Marsaris ou Marsalis, que fit bâtir des églises en 1268. Et l'année suivante, à la demande du Tartare Coblay, par ordre du pape Grégoire X, deux théologiens d'Ancone appelés Nicolas et Guillaume se rendirent de Rome au Cathay.

'Garibay, de son côté dans son Histoire Pontificale, parle du frère Anselme et de ses compagnons qui, avec l'autorisation d'Innocent V, entreprirent le voyage du Cathay. St. Antonin parle également de cette chrétienté du Cathay.

'Nous n'avons pas du reste beaucoup de renseignements sur ces populations, parce qu'elles habitaient les terres situées à l'extrémité septentrionale de la contrée. Nous savons seulement qu'elles comprenaient le Chaldéen. (*Fol. 78.*)

'Il y a donc lieu de croire que cette contrée chrétienne était très prospère et que ses habitants étaient valeureux et forts. Car ce fut à eux que l'empereur Tartare Coblay s'adressa quand il voulut faire son expédition contre la Chine. Il les envoya conquérir cette province de Masim et Marco Polo, liv. II. ch. LXII, renseigne que cette contrée fut soumise par des chrétiens Alains.

'Il pourrait se faire que ce fussent des Alains, plutôt que des Goths, qui entrèrent en Espagne en 412, à l'époque d'Arcadius et d'Honorius,

Nagerserrin estão vales onde habitão gigantes de .12. pês de alto. e andaão cubertos de Pelecamelos e trazem cabeça e barba rapada, e entendem a lingoagem do Indostan como me affirmou ch(um) Indostano que foi catiuo dos gigantes.

north, it has Cabul; and on the side of the south, it has Purat; and on the side of the west, Persia; and on the side of the east, it has the mountains of Tebeth; and, being in the northern altitude, it has in the northern part 40 degrees and 16 minutes,¹ and in the southern part 31 degrees and 50 minutes.

And between the mountain ridges of Tebeth and the mountain ridges of Nagerserrin² are valleys where live

car ces peuplades qui firent invasion en Espagne venaient de la Scythie, tandis que les Goths sont originaires de la Gothie.'

Tripule's *Cathay*, I find no references to the Missionaries, Nicholas, William, and Andson and his companions.

Elsewhere Godinho states (Fol. 65) that the capital of Capiom in China flourished at the time of the idolatrous Monarchs who preceded Preste Juan, 'e depois se passou aquella corte de Campion pera Jendu ou Tenduc no oriente na parte Serica, quando se fundou aquella Christandade de S. Thome, de que se acharão reliquias como hum calçado ou sappatos do ditto apostolo, que os naturaes tem em muyta veneração' (and afterwards that court of Campion passed over to Jendu or Tenduc in the east in the Serica part, when was founded that Christianity of St. Thomas, of whom were found relics, as a shoe or slippers of the said apostle, which hold in the natives great veneration).

That tell-tale shoe of St. Thomas is a good proof that the Chinese still venerate St. Thomas in the shape of a traveller Saint carrying over his shoulder a staff, from the end of which hangs a sandal. His name is Tamo. Mylapore and Malabar had kept the story of St. Thomas' traveller's staff; China, we now find, had stories about St. Thomas' staff and his sandal. Stories of the sandal will be found also in the Hindu books.

Again Godinho says of the Christians in China: (Fol. 64r): 'E pera declaração destas provicias (of Cathay), he de notar que na

Consílio Chaldeo. provincia Tenduc ou Jendu governava aquelle Preste Juan da India, Monarcha Christam baptizado pollo apostolo S. Thome ou por seu discipolo puasi no tempo do pontificado de Lino anno 69, quando Espanha estava despovoada por secca, o qual monarcha por armas senhoreou os Indosethas da India superior, chamada a Serica ate a anno 1167, no pontificado de Gregoria 8o. no tempo de Dom Affonso Enrrique 1o.

Garibai Chronica. Rey de Portugal: no qual tempo os Tartaros da (Fol. 64v) Provincia de Tartar da Cidade de Coromoran, gentes estrangeiras e mais septentrionaes, elegerão por Rey a hum Chinchis, o qual vendose em grande magestade prettendoe senhorear o mundo, e começou com arrogancia formar guerras contra seu senhor Joan Can ou Huncan, successor do Preste Juan, de quem em guerras teve vittorias com que o ditto Chinchis senhoreou aquelle antigo imperio de Jendu ou Tenduc e fez tributario o Cathay e quasi toda India superior.'

¹ This makes Kashmir reach too far north.

² As either Khatmandu or Bhatgaon, adjacent towns in Nepal, was called Nagar (the town), the Nagerserrin Mountains seem to be the

giants 12 feet high, and they go covered with camel-skins, and they shave their head and their beard, and they understand the language of Indostan, as was asserted to me by an Indostano who was a prisoner of the giants.

BENGALA.

O Reino de bengala esta situado no Tropico de cancro em .23 gr. 30. m. e tem da parte do Norte Patanes. cocho: e a Prouincia incognita de gentes mostruosa(s) porque no sertoão se acha hũ Mar Mediterraneo ou laguna grande, em que esta plantada a Il(ha) chamada Zanzi. de ambito de 10. legoas. pouoada de 3. cores de gente branca, More (na e) preta com Azas e Voão pouco a pou(co) na face da terra: como o declara o Itinerario de Alexandre Magno em Persio de letra Arabia.

E nos Vales dos montes Imaus ou Naugracot. em certas Ilhas daq'las lagunas habitão gentes de varia forma de Mōstros. como gente de hũ pẽ. e outros de orelhas grandes na Ilha Azus. e outros de rosto no peito, na

BENGALA.

The Kingdom of Bengala is situated in the Tropic of Cancer, in 23 degrees and 30 minutes. And on the north side, it has Patanes,¹ Cocho,² and the unknown province of monstrous people; for inland is found a mediterranean sea or great lagoon in which is situated the Zanzi Island,³ 10 leagues in circuit, and inhabited by people of three complexions, white, swarthy, and black;⁴ and they have wings and fly gently⁵ above the ground, as is declared in the Itinerary of Alexander the Great, written in Persian in the Arabic character.

And in the valleys of the Imaus or Naugracot Mountains, in certain islands of those lagoons live people with various monstrous forms: like the people with one foot, and others with long ears in the island Azus; and others with

mountains separating Nepal from Hindustan. One would, however, suppose that the giants were placed in Tibet rather than in Nepal, as the Tibetans are taller and stronger than the Nepalese.

¹ Patna.

² Cooch Behar.

³ Is not this Lake Palte near Gyantze (=Zanzi?)?

⁴ Godinho has a chapter on white, brown and black people in South India, by which he understands parts of Australasia. (Cf. Janssen, fol. 54r and v.)

⁵ One of the meanings of *pouco a pouco* is 'softly'. Perhaps, some religious dance in which the dancers wore wings and appeared to hover above ground, led to the notion of winged beings flying.

Ilha bartil. e outros de cabeça de caõ na Ilha Atouara. e outros de cabeça de Elephante na Ilha gaeza. e outros de cabeça de Peixe na Ilha ratem. e os Pigmeos de 4. Palmos de alto gente como chinas Vermelhos e cabeludos despidos na Ilha Amani. e os Pigmeos Negros de hũ couado de alto comedores de carne humana ou Antropofagas da Ilha Sarao, e postoque pareça fabula todauia Alem de o certificar Plinio na sua Istoria Natural do Liuro .7.º tambem o declaraõ as istorias do Indostan de antiguidades e outros escritos da Persia, sobre esta Materia, e eu conheci hũ Indostano quevio homẽ de hũ pê no sertão. e outra pessoa achei q' vio homẽ de orelhas grandes. (*Fol.* 81v.)

Alem do camarũ de bengala

their face on their breast in the island Bartil; and others with a dog's head in the island Atouara; and others with an elephant's head in the island Gaeza; and others with the head of a fish in the island Ratem; and the Pigmies, four palms high, people like the Chinese, red, and hairy, and naked, in the island Amani; and the black Pigmies, one ell high, who are eaters of human flesh, or anthropophagi, in the island Sarao; and, though it appears fabulous, yet not only does Pliny assert this in the 7th Book of his Natural History, but the histories of Indostan on antiquities declare the same, as also other writings of Persia on this matter. And I knew an Indostano who saw a man with one foot in the inland parts, and I met another person who saw a man with long ears.¹ Besides the camarũ² of Bengala, (there is):

O SIND.

O Sindi ou Indi he aq'lo Reino chamado Nager Terra plantada no Tropico de cancro em .23. gr. 30. m. / e tem na parte do Norte candahar, cabul. E no sul tem o Mar da India. / E no occidente a Persia e coracone. chamado polos Naturaes Iran. / e da

SIND.

Sindi or Indi is that kingdom which is called Nager,³ a country situated in the Tropic of Cancer, in 23 degrees and 30 minutes. And on the north side, it has Candahar, (and) Cabul; and on the south side, it has the Sea of India; and on the west side, Persia and

¹ The remarkable thing for the man with one leg would have been if he ran as fast as a horse and used his foot as a parasol when lying down. Again, there was nothing remarkable about the man with the long ears unless he could wrap himself up in them as in a blanket.

² Not identified; perhaps *comarca* (Port.): a subdivision of a province; district. (Camarũ is Kāwarũ, Kāmarũ or Kāma-rũpa= Western Assam adjoining Bengal.)

³ Thus called, perhaps, from Nagar Parkar, in the Thar and Parkar District.

parte occidental o gozarate. aqu
 em initaõ em na tudo na secta
 Idolatra serimonias e Vestiaria
 e exercicios e nas mais obres.
 / E naõ trato largamete destas
 Materias porque minha pre-
 tençaõ naõ he mais que es-
 creuer sobre o pertecete a
 cosmographia.

Laus Deo Opt. Max.o.

(In another writing, on this
 page): Descripçam do Indostan
 e Guzarate.

Coraçone, which by the Natives
 is called Iran; and on the west
 (read: east) side it has Goza-
 rate, which they imitate in
 everything, in the idolatrous
 sect, ceremonies, dress, occu-
 pations and all other things.
 And I do not speak at length
 of these matters, as my object
 is to write only of what
 appertains to cosmography.

Praise to God, the Good and
 Great.

(In another writing): Des-
 cription of Indostan and Gu-
 zarate.

A NOTE ON MANOEL GODINHO DE EREDIA AND A
 'CHRONICA DE GOZARATH'.

Sir E. Denison Ross wrote to me on January 1, 1930, from the School of Oriental Studies, London: 'I am much interested to hear of your Portuguese description of Gujarat by Godinho. I expect you have already seen the elaborate index I printed with the last volume of my Arabic History of Gujarat; this may possibly be of use for your notes, especially as it is exactly contemporary. I am myself working at a very interesting Portuguese MS., copied for me in Lisbon, describing the early life of Sultan Bahadur; it is, unfortunately, anonymous and often difficult to understand, owing to the bad spelling and total absence of stops or capitals. Perhaps, if I sent you further details, you might be able to identify the writer.'

I had little hope of being able to identify the author of Sir E. Denison Ross' MS. However, in February, 1930, while, at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, I examined for my own purposes Godinho de Eredia's *Declaração de Malaca*, published by Léon Janssen, I found marginally at fol. 75v a reference to a 'Chronica de Gozarath'. A passage (*ibid.*) appears to have been extracted from it: 'E aquelles Baneanes de 12 familias se recolherão no Gozarate e no Metropoli Tanna de Bombayn: como se mostra naquelles grandes e sumptuosos aedificios de pagodes.' The names of these 12 families of Baneanes are enumerated in my own MS. by Godinho, at fol. 78v. Accordingly, I am led to think that much else in my MS. (Fol. 78r-78v) may have been derived from the same *Chronica de Gozarath*, among other things the name of the first king of Gujarat, i.e. Vinjalmete or Qadaxim, and the list of the Muhammadan kings of Gujarat.

At fol. 75v of Godinho's *Declaração de Malaca* there is also a marginal reference to a *Chronica da Persia* and *Chronica*

Persiana. In another place of the same work I remember there was also a reference to a Persian history of Alexander the Great, but I did not note the page. There is a similar reference in my MS. as also to histories of Hindostan (fols. 80v, 81r).

On my arrival in Darjeeling on March 1, 1930, I found more information on the *Chronica de Gozarath* in a MS. work by Miss Ethel M. Pope: 'India in Portuguese Literature.' The title-page showed that she had in preparation a translation of *Chronica de Guzarate*, 'a Portuguese MS. of the 16th Century'. At p. 127 she writes:—

'While in Lisbon we saw a most interesting manuscript called: *Chronica geral dos successos do Reino de Guzarat em Cambaya depos do morte do Soltao Modafar*', 4 vols.,¹ (General Chronicle of the events of the Kingdom of Guzarat in Cambay after the death of the Sultan Modafar), 3 vols.,² whose copy we made and intend to publish in English in the near future. It is an anonymous work and without date, but has the characteristics of a manuscript of the sixteenth century.

'It begins with this summary: This book contains three matters quite distinctive. The first volume which contains 41 folios is a general chronicle of the events of the Kingdom of Guzarat which is called Cambaia. The second begins with a general description of all the coasts, islands and kingdoms of India, beginning with the Red Sea and extending as far as China, pointing out particularly the peculiarities of the customs and religions of the inhabitants and the commerce and trades which are in each. The third is the Trojan chronicle which was translated from Latin into Portuguese by Guido de Culuna, a fabulous work which treats of ancient time up till the loss of Troy. The Trojan Chronicle was separated from this volume.

'There are now 7 folios missing, 41-47.'³

As Miss Pope and Sir E. Denison Ross might have been working at the same MS. without having heard of each other's doings, I informed Miss Pope on March 10, 1930, of the coincidence and advised her to get into touch with Sir E. Denison Ross.

From her description of the second volume of the MSS. it now seems to me that, as Godinho de Eredia refers in his *Descripçam de Malaca* to a *Chronica de Gozarath*, which I have reason to think he used for his 'Discourse on Indostan and Guzarate', he might be the author of the treatise bound up with Miss Pope's *Chronica de Guzarat*, i.e. of 'a general description of all the coasts and islands and kingdoms of India, beginning with the Red Sea and extending as far as China'. His MS.

¹ *Sic.*—In his 'Discourse on Indostan and Guzarate' (fol. 78v) Godinho writes 'Mazafar', and enumerates three of the name.

² *Sic.*

³ In which of the 3 or 4 volumes are these folios missing?

'Discourse on Indostan and Guzarate', prepared by me for publication, was perhaps part of a more comprehensive treatise, the two forming, with his Description of Malaca, South India and Cathay, a complete geography of all the eastern parts known to him.

Though Godinho de Eredia refers to a Chronicle of Gujarat, it does not follow that he is the author or translator of it. Such a Chronicle may have been written or translated long before him. The same for the Persian Chronicle or Chronicle of Persia, and the History in Persian of Alexander the Great to which he also alludes.

What do the Portuguese and Spanish bibliographers know of Godinho de Eredia, or of a Chronicle of Gujarat, a Persian Chronicle and the Persian History of Alexander the Great? Away from libraries, I shall suggest that a search be made in the first instance in Leon Pinelo's *Epítome de la Bibliotheca Oriental y Occidental, nautica y geographica*, 3 volumes, of which a copy exists in the Goethals Indian Library, St. Xavier's College, 30 Park Street, Calcutta.

Writing to me on February 27, 1930, Sir E. Denison Ross says: 'I have discovered some clue to the author of the Lisbon MS. dealing with ten years of the reign of Sultan Bahadur. I think he is Diogo de Mesquita, who wrote an account of his captivity which has not indeed come down to us, but from which Correa derived materials for his history.'

Similarities between Correa and the MS. now used by Sir E. Denison Ross may go far to establish the authorship of that MS. and attribute it to Diogo de Mesquita. Sir E. Denison Ross may be able to do that. I cannot now here compare Correa with my own MS. Miss Pope writes that João de Barros (1496-1570), though working in Lisbon, had a description of Gujarat and its history. He sent for the chronicles of the kingdoms of the East. In Dec. I, Bk. 9, ch. 3, he quotes one of the religious books of the Malabarese on their history. He also had chronicles of the kings of Gujarat, Vijayanagar and the Deccan. On those of Gujarat, see Dec. IV, Bk. 5. 'A little further' (Miss Pope) he says he took some things from the Persian Chronicles. For the History of the Moghuls he drew on Persian documents (Dec. IV, ch. 1). He notes that the Muslims of Gujarat and the Chronicles of the Deccan and those of Vijayanagar differ among themselves on the coming of the Muslims to India (Dec. II, Bk. 5, ch. 2). My references are from Miss Pope's MS., pp. 63, 67, 68. A search in do Couto may reveal what oriental sources he had at his disposal. The same for Castanheda. These authorities are not now within my reach.

Letters and other Papers of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J.,
a Missionary in Tibet (1713-21).

Edited and translated

By THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

In 1904, I made for the first time the acquaintance of Father Carlos Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. The article on Fr. Ippolito Desideri, a Jesuit Missionary in Tibet, drew my attention especially (cf. Vol. II, coll. 1963-64; Vol. IX, coll. 204-205). And well it might, for Kurseong and Darjeeling are at the very gates of that Forbidden Land, whose mysteries act as a spell on so many inquisitive minds.

One of the MS. letters of Desideri (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714) was said to be in the Stonyhurst College Library. When appealed to, one of our Belgian Scholastics, then at Stonyhurst, the Rev. Fr. J. Van Neste (now very worthy Professor of Chemistry at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta) was kind enough to copy the letter, an Italian one, for me. His letter of October 23, 1904, says that he had copied half of it already and that the complete transcript would be sent off in a week. The Stonyhurst College Library possessed nothing else of Desideri's. The transcript duly reached me shortly after. Somehow, I delayed the translation till the beginning of my stay in Calcutta (1909 or 1910).

I had by then acquired a fair knowledge of Desideri's special circumstances in Tibet, chiefly through Carlo Puini's *Il Tibet (Geografia, Storia, Religione, Costumi) secondo la relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri (1715-21)*, Roma, Presso la Società Geografica Italiana, 102, Via del Plebiscito, 1904. The whereabouts of the original MS. had long puzzled our bibliographers. Now that we have it in print, it is very tempting to undertake the translation of it. In fact, I have made the translation of Desideri's text at pp. 11-264 (338-383, in Puini), but Puini has so completely disturbed the order of the manuscript that, unless one be willing to follow his own order and include all his comments, there is no means of publishing the translation. Moreover, we know Puini has omitted from the Relation whatever did not refer to Tibet, whereas the Relation has considerable

Editorial Note: This paper was received in 1930 but for various reasons it remained unattended before the death of the author. It is now published in its original form, and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the Philological Secretary, has revised the proofs.—B. G.

portions on Desideri's journey to India before his expedition to Tibet, and on his stay in India, after that expedition. Not only that, but the Society of Jesus, as we see from the work of Father Charles Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* (1603-1721), The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1924, pp. 275-281, still possesses what appears to be a better MS. of the same Relation (MS. A.), and another one, apparently a rough draft, which contains many sections not utilized, or not fully utilized by the author in the Relation of his journeys (MS. A.). It is entitled *Notizie istoriche*. To publish a translation of the text as we find it in Puini will never be satisfactory. All the available texts should be obtained first, after which that text should be selected for translation which is found to be the most complete, the other texts serving only by way of comment; to this should then be added all portions in the other manuscripts which are not yet represented.

Professor Puini, in addition to the MS. *Relazione* now in the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana of Florence, which, as we said, he edited in a very unsatisfactory manner, published 5 letters of Desideri's, four of which, though printed in the 18th century, were practically unknown or inaccessible.

These are:

1. A letter to the General of the Society of Jesus, Leh (Ladakh), Aug. 5, 1715.
2. A letter to the same, Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717.
3. A letter to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, a Capuchin at Patna, dated Takpo (Tibet), March 12, 1718.
4. A letter to the same, Trong-gnê (Tibet), Aug. 4, 1718.
5. A short letter to the Pope, Kutti (Tibet), Sept. 21, 1721.

This last, it seems, appeared in *La Rivista Europea*, July 1876, p. 293 (cf. Sommervogel, Vol. IX, No. 9); but Puini (*Il Tibet*, pp. XLII, 360 n. 1) speaks of it as a MS. letter in the Propaganda Library.

Desideri's *Avvertimenti a' Missionari Viaggiatori nel Tibet* appeared in the *La Rivista Europea*, June, July 1876. Cf. Sommervogel, Vol. IX, No. 6. This I have not seen.

The first four letters mentioned above under Nos. 1-4 are said by Puini to have been taken from the *Sommario* of the case between the Capuchins and the Jesuits for priority in Tibet. Cf. Puini, *op. cit.*, XLII, 19 n. 6, 360 n. 1. This *Sommario* appears to be distinct from Father Desideri's three *Difesa* against Father Felice of Montecchio, printed at Rome in 1728, and from Fr. Felice of Montecchio's own statements on the case.

Puini states (p. XLII) that he had another MS., a relation to the Holy Father by Desideri, dated Febr. 13, 1717 (no doubt from Lhasa) about Desideri's entrance into Thibet and his

remaining there. This MS. is shown to be in the Propaganda Library, but we do not find it published in Puini's *Il Tibet*.

Carlo Puini also wrote an article: *Di alcune lettere inedite o ignorate del P. Ippolito Desideri da C. di G., Missionario nel Tibet*, published in *Lavori presentati al Professore Marinelli nel venticinquesimo anniversario delle sue nozze*, Firenze, tip. M. Ricci, 1895, 8vo., pp. III-104. Cf. *Moniteur Bibliographique de la C. de J.*, fasc. XIII, 1895 (*Rédaction des Études*, 1896, April), or *Sommervogel*, Vol. XI, col. 205, No. 8. A friend, whose name I have now forgotten, was good enough to send me a copy of that article, and I shall add it to these pages, with a translation.

I am myself now in possession of a certain number of roto-graphic facsimiles of autograph letters by Fr. Desideri. They are all addressed to the General of the Society:—

- (a) Goa, Nov. 12, 1713; 1 p.
- (b) Goa, Nov. 15, 1713; *do*.
- (c) Surat, Dec. 30, 1713; 2 pp. f'scap.
- (d) Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714; 2 pp.
- (e) Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719; 1 p.
- (f) Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721; 1 p. f'scap; very small writing.
- (g) Kutti, Oct. 5, 1721; 1 p.

All these letters (a-g) are in the possession of the Society of Jesus in Europe. From the same source I have a letter from Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, S.J., Damão, Nov. 29, 1713, to the General of the Society of Jesus (3 pp., autograph), in which there is question of Tibet, and Martinetti's asking to return to Europe.

All these papers (a-g), except one, come from *Goana: Epistolae 1569-1742*, Goa. 9: Desideri's letter (c) of Surat, Dec. 30, 1713, is marked 'Prov. Goan.'

In 1911, my friend Fr. Wessels anticipated me by publishing in the original Italian the MS. letter copied for me at Stonyhurst in 1904. It appeared at pp. 30-39 of *Atti e Memorie del Convegno di Geografi Orientalisti tenuto in Macerata il 25, 26, 27 Settembre 1910*, Macerata, Premiata Stabilimento Tipografico Avv. F. Giorgetti, 1911, in 8vo (24×17), pp. LVIII-187, in *Onoranze Nazionali al P. Matteo Ricci, Apostolo e Geografo della Cina, 1610-1910-11*. Cf. *Moniteur Bibliographique de la C. de J.*, 1912, No. 3280. I have no copy of the work, but Fr. Wessels was kind enough to send me on Oct. 26, 1912, a type-written copy of the Stonyhurst letter published by him. This copy presents a number of discrepancies from the text supplied me in 1904 by Father Van Neste. Having myself handled a number of Desideri's autograph letters, I judge that Fr. Neste's copy is the more faithful of the two. Accordingly, I shall add his transcript to this collection.

There is yet another letter of Desideri's which I include here. It was for long the only one known to the learned world the well-known letter (Lhasa, April, 10, 1716) to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi published in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (150 recueil, 1781, pp. 183-208; edn. 1843, t. II. pp. 531-555). We publish it again below from C. Markham's *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet*, 2nd edn., London, 1879, pp. 302-308, Markham having taken it himself, perhaps, from Astley's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. IV, together with his account of *Travels of Johann Grueber, Jesuit* (pp. 295-302). We have, however, retouched Markham's text.

Besides these letters, there is one dated February 13, 1717, in Father Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, pp. 185-186, it is not addressed to the Pope, and is therefore not the letter of the same date, addressed to the Pope, which Puini (*Il Tibet*, p. XLII) says exists in MS. in the Propaganda Library, but did not publish. Cf. our notes *supra*.

I have not seen Fr. Desideri's three *Difesa della Compagnia di Giesù . . . contro le scritture del R.P.F. Felice da Montecchio, Cappuccino*, printed all three at Rome, in 1728 (4to, pp. 18, 31, 19; cf. Sommervogel, Vol. II), at least two of which are still in the possession of the Society of Jesus.

My notes also show the following in the possession of the Society of Jesus, all of which, but for want of funds, might by now have been in my collection:—

1. Di 13 scritture de P. F. Felice de Montecchio con risposte alla Cong. di Prop.

2. Descriptio itineris in Tibet a P. Desideri.

Varia: Dominicus a Fano, O. Cap., 15/I 665; 28/W 98; 3/I 718; Appello al Papa, 1721.—1719 16/I Roma; 54 pp. fol. de decr. S. Congreg., 1718.—(Our collection shows Desideri's *Appello al Papa* of Sept. 21, 1721; but he wrote another in January 1721. Is the date 1718 correct, or should it be 1728?)

3. Fel. de Montecchio all' Eminentissimi d.l. Prop. contra Patrem Desideri.

4. 1719 16/I Roma: P. Tamburini Patri Desideri, ut statim relinquat Tibet. This will appear in the present collection.

5. 1723. Accounts of the Father Procurator.

6. 1724 16/I, Eutropio de Saumur, O. Cap., Patri Desideri.

7. 1728. Difess II d.l. Comp. contro Fel. da Montecchio alla S. Congreg.

8. 1728 30/VIII. Ant. Milesius, Refl. de difesa della Comp. per P. Desideri.

9. Difesa R. Desideri quia non prompte Thibet reliquit.

10. 1730 3/XI, Genova, P. Tambini, S.J., Proc. delle Indie, testimonium pro Desideri.

11. 1732. Missio Tibetana privative Capucinis tradita (a small note, without date, place or name. I have this and publish it below).

It will be seen from all this that neither Puini nor Fr. Wessels has exhausted the subject of Desideri's travels and stay in Tibet, and of his activities after his return to Italy. We too shall have to leave untouched on this occasion the better and greater part of Desideri's writings.

We may also warn the reader here that a large number of Desideri's letters either never reached their destination, or, if they did, they remain to be discovered. Fewer were lost than he himself imagined while in Tibet. The letters sent to the College of Agra are probably lost for ever; but those addressed to the Provincial of Goa, not a few of which must have reached the addressee, must be hiding among the Archives of the Provincial of Goa, where these are now scattered. The greater part of these Archives ought to be now in Portugal. We have also evidence in the extant letters that Desideri wrote valuable letters not only to his Superiors in Rome and Goa, but to his friends in the Society of Jesus, both in India and Italy. Of these, however, we possess only two, one written to Ildebrando Grassi, Lhasa, Apr. 10, 1716, and another to Fr. Piccolomini, Agra, Aug. 21, 1714.

The documents now published comprise:—

- (1) Letter of Desideri, Goa, Nov. 12, 1713, to the General.
- (2) Letter of Desideri, Goa, Nov. 15, 1713, to the General.
- (3) Letter of Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, Damão, Nov. 29, 1713, to the General.
- (4) Letter of Desideri, Surat, Dec. 30, 1713, to the General.
- (5) Letter of Desideri, Agra, Aug. 21, 1714, to Fr. Piccolomini, in Italy.
- (6) Letter of Desideri, Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714, to the General.
- (7) Letter of Desideri, Leh (Ladakh), Aug. 5, 1715, to the General.
- (8) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, Apr. 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, a Missionary in India.
- (9) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717, to the General.
- (10) Letter of Desideri, Takpo (Tibet), March 12, 1718, to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Capuchin (Patna).
- (11) Letter of Desideri, Takpo (Tibet), Aug. 4, 1718, to the same.
- (12) Decree of the Propaganda (Rome, Dec. 12, 1718) to the General of the Society of Jesus, telling him to recall Fr. Desideri from Tibet.
- (13) Letter from the General (Rome, January 16, 1719) to Fr. Desideri, recalling him to Rome.
- (14) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, to the General.
- (15) Letter of Desideri, Kutti (Tibet), Sept. 21, 1721, to the General.
- (16) Letter of Desideri, Kutti (Tibet), Sept. 21, 1721, to the Pope.

(17) Letter of Desideri, Kutti (Tibet), Oct. 5, 1721, to the General.

(18) 1732. The Mission of Tibet is assigned to the Capuchins.

Our collection of Desideri letters comprises all those which Fr. Wessels refers to at p. 274 of his work.

We add :—

(19) Desideri on the political events in Tibet (1707-21). Cf. Puini, *Il Tibet*, pp. 338-350.

(20) Desideri's dates in Puini and in our letters.

(21) An article on Fr. Desideri by Prof. Carlo Puini (1895).

(22) Desideri's *Notizie istoriche* and other Italian writings noticed by Fr. C. Wessels.

(23) The Desideri's MS. used by Puini.

(24) Two specimens of Desideri's Tibetan writings.

(25) Bibliographical notes from Carlos Sommervogel, S.J.

We add five documents which reached us after the above materials had been fully dealt with.

(26) Letter of Fr. Francis Borgia Koch, S.J., to Fr. Anthony Mordax, S.J., Vienna (Goa, 1706). In reality the letter must be of 1709.

(27) Fr. Francis Anthony Zaccaria, S.J., on Fr. Desideri, including a letter from Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717.

(28) Letter of Desideri to Pope Clement XI (Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717).

(29) The case of Fr. Ippolito Desideri as represented to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda by Fr. Felice da Montecchio, Capuchin, in *Sommario A.* (1728).

(30) Letter of the Viceroy Court de s. Vicente to the King of Nepal (Goa, Febr. 23, 1667).

The following correspondence is alluded to in the letters we publish below :—

(1) Letter of the General, Rome, July 6, 1709, commending to the Superiors at Goa the reopening of the Tibet Mission. Cf. No. 2.

(2) Letter of the General, Rome, March 21 (22?), 1711, to Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, India, received by him in March 1713. Cf. No. 3.

(3) Letter of Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, Surat, April 1713, to the General. Cf. No. 3.

(4) Letter of the Provincial of Goa, 1713 (?), to Fr. Desideri telling him to stay at Agra. Received at Delhi after May 11, 1713. Cf. Nos. 5 and 6.

(5) Letter of Desideri, Goa, 1713, to Fr. Piccolomini, Italy. Cf. No. 5.

(6) Letter of Fr. Desideri, Surat, beginning of 1714, to Fr. Piccolomini. Cf. No. 5.

(7) Letter of Desideri (before his departure from Surat on April 26, 1714) to the Provincial of Goa, asking for a companion to Tibet. Cf. No. 5.

(8) Letter of the Provincial of Goa to the above, which must have been received by Desideri before his leaving Surat on April 26, 1714. Cf. No. 5.

(9) Letters-patent of Fr. Joseph da Sylva, Visitor of Mogor, Delhi (?), Aug. 15 (?), 1714, to Desideri, allowing him to go to Tibet. Cf. No. 5.

(10) Letter of Fr. Manoel Freyre, Delhi, to Fr. Desideri, Agra, who received it on Aug. 17, 1714, at Agra; telling him he is ready to start with him for Tibet. Cf. No. 5.

(11a) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, end of July, 1716, to the General (*via* Goa and Portugal), on his journey up to Lhasa and his staying there. Cf. No. 9.

(11b) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, end of July, 1716, to the same unknown correspondent to whom he wrote from Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717. Cf. the letter published by Fr. Zaccaria (our No. 26).

(12) Letter of Fr. Dominic of Fano, Capuchin, from Nepal, before leaving Nepal (Aug. 4, 1716) for Lhasa, where he arrived on Oct. 1, 1716; asking the Propaganda what is to be done by the Capuchins, since Desideri went to Lhasa during the absence of the Capuchins and is there now. Cf. No. 9.

(13) Two Decrees of Propaganda, one of March 1, 1717, another of Sept. 20, 1717, enjoining on the General of the Society to abandon the Missions of Tibet. Cf. No. 12.

(14) A letter or note from the Capuchins announcing to Desideri their forthcoming arrival at Lhasa. Cf. No. 9.

(15) Several letters of Desideri, Lhasa, between Oct. 1, 1716, and Febr. 15, 1717, to the Provincial of Goa. Cf. No. 9.

(16) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, to the Pope, enclosed with his letter to the General, Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717. Cf. Nos. 9 and 15. This must be the letter of Febr. 13, 1717, to the Pope, which, according to the article by Carlo Puini, published below, is in the *Carte referite delle Indie Orientali e Cina*, under that date (Library of the Propaganda).

(17) Letter of the Pope (Rome, Jan. 6, 1714) to the King of Tibet, translated by Desideri into Tibetan and presented to the King on Dec. 4, 1716. Cf. No. 9.

(18) Eleven letters of Desideri, Lhasa, between the middle of April 1716 to Febr. 15, 1717, to the Provincial of Goa and the Rector of Agra. Cf. No. 9. Some of these must have reached their destination, since Desideri's companion, Fr. Manoel Freyre, returned to Mogor shortly after reaching Lhasa, and since we have the letter which Desideri addressed from Lhasa, on Apr. 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

(19) Letter from Goa to Desideri, saying that in Nov. 1717 Jesuit Fathers will be sent to Tibet. This reached Desideri in Tibet. Cf. his letter of March 12, 1718 (No. 10).

(20) Letter of Desideri, Takpo, enclosed in his letter from Takpo, March 12, 1718, to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Patna; to be remitted to the Jesuits coming to Tibet on their arrival at Patna. Cf. No. 10.

(21) Letter of Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Patna, Dec. 23, 1717, to Desideri, which Desideri received in July 1718, and answered from Takpo on Aug. 4, 1718. Cf. No. 11.

(22) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, beginning of June 1717, to the Jesuit Provincial of China, to be forwarded by the Chinese envoys then at Lhasa; in duplicate. Cf. No. 11.

(23) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, beginning of June 1717, to Fr. Ludovico Gonzaga, China, to be forwarded by the Chinese envoys then at Lhasa; in duplicate. Cf. No. 11.

(24) Letter of the Provincial of Goa, appointing Desideri Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Tibet. Cf. his letter of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719 (No. 14).

(25) Appeal by Desideri to the Pope and the S. Congregation of Propaganda, both enclosed in his letter of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, to the General. Cf. No. 14. A copy is enclosed for the Pope and one for the General.

(26) Decree of Propaganda (Rome, Dec. 12, 1718), seen by Desideri at Lhasa between April 14, 1721, when he arrived from Takpo at Lhasa, and April 28, 1721, when he left Lhasa for Nepal. Cf. No. 15. Already in his letter of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, Desideri refers to a similar decree or news about it as having been received by the Capuchins. Cf. No. 14.

(27) Letter of the General (Rome, Jan. 16, 1719) to Desideri, recalling him from Tibet. This was transmitted to Desideri by the S. Congregation of Propaganda through the Capuchins and was received by Desideri at Takpo in January 1721. (Cf. No. 15.) The letter of the General mentions an order sent by the General to the Provincial of Goa in 1718, and recalling Desideri from Tibet. This was not received by Desideri. Cf. No. 15.

The letter of the General (16.1.1719) mentions a letter by the General, 1719, to the Provincial of Goa and to Desideri, sent via Lisbon by the Goa ships, and recalling Desideri from Tibet, and a similar order to Desideri sent by another route. Desideri received only the letter of January (16?), 1719.

(28) Letter of Desideri, (Takpo), Jan. 1721, to the General and other letters of the same date. Cf. No. 15.

(29) Letters of Desideri, Takpo, January 1721, to the Pope, the Propaganda and the General. Cf. No. 15 (end).

(30) Not many letters, but very many letters, by Desideri, sent from Tibet to the General in 1716-21. Cf. No. 15.

(31) Letters received by Desideri in Tibet (1716-21): from friends in Italy, i.e. from Fr. John Baptist Conti (several times), Fr. Galuzzi, Fr. Corsoni, Master Silvestri, and others not mentioned. Cf. No. 15.

(32) Letter of the General in answer to Desideri's letter (2 letters?) from Goa, Nov. 12 and 15, 1713, received by Desideri in Tibet in Sept. 1718. Cf. No. 15.

(33) Letters by Desideri to the General, to the Pope, to Cardinal Tolomei, and Count (?) Fedri (?), sent in February 1717 by the Capuchins, by way of the French ships, were received in Rome in 1718, as Desideri was duly informed. Cf. No. 15.

(34) Letter of the Dutch Director, (Patna? Singhia?), 1721 (?), to Desideri, received at Kutti in Sept. 1721. Cf. No. 15.

(35) Letter of Desideri, Takpo, March 1718, to the General. Cf. No. 15.

(36) Letter to the Pope enclosed in his letter to the General (Kutti, Oct. 5, 1721). Cf. No. 17.

(37) Letter of the General, Rome, January 1723, to Desideri, answering his letters of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, and of Kutti, Sept. 21 and Oct. 5, 1721.

(38) Letter of the General, Rome, Sept. 22, 1726, to Desideri, answering his letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714.

We shall set down here some of the chief dates in the remarkable career of this great traveller for Christ.

Born at Pistoia on Dec. 21, 1684 (Dec. 20, 1684, in Zacharia, our No. 26), he entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus on April 27, 1700 (May 9, 1700, in Zacharia; our No. 26). Even before he became a priest, he had conceived the idea of going to Tibet. (Puini, *Il Tibet*, p. 3.) Ordained a priest on Aug. 28, 1712, he set out from Rome for Lisbon on Sept. 27 of the same year, being then twenty-seven years and nine months old. He arrived at Lisbon in March 1713, left for India on April 7, and reached Goa on Sept. 27, 1713. He left it on Nov. 17, 1713,¹ and passed through Chaul, Bassein and Daman, where he fell ill on his arrival (Dec. 21). On January 1, 1714, he started for Surat and arrived on the 4th of the same month.² Here Fr. Joseph da Silva, the Visitor of the College and Mission of Agra, showed himself favourable to the new enterprise of reopening the Tibet Mission, to which the Provincial of Goa had destined him.

The journey from Surat to Delhi filled the interval of March 25³ to May 11, 1714. From Delhi he went to Agra, returned to Delhi on or shortly after Aug. 22, and with Fr. Manoel Freyre

¹ Wessels, p. 210, has Nov. 13, 1713.

² We shall have to discuss these two dates lower down.

³ March 26, in Wessels, p. 211, and in Desideri's letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714.

set out for Tibet on Sept. 23.¹ On Oct. 9, they were at Lahore, resumed their journey on the 19th, and reached Kashmir (Srinagar) on Nov. 13. On May 17, 1715, after a serious illness, which overtook Desideri, they proceeded and arrived at Leh, alias Ladakh, on June 26. Here they took information about the Tibet where Fr. de Andrade had been and discovered that, besides Little Tibet (Baltistan) and Great Tibet (Ladakh), there was yet a greater Tibet, where the Capuchins were or had been and the capital of which was Lhasa. Fr. Freyre, who wished to return to India the moment he arrived at Leh, finding that the journey back to Srinagar would lie across the mountains, which he dreaded, insisted on going to Lhasa, and thence back to Agra. As he was Desideri's Superior, he insisted on taking Desideri with him to Lhasa. They left accordingly on Aug. 27 (17, in Puini, p. 32), 1715,² and arrived at Lhasa on March 18, 1716. According to Puini (p. 30 n. 1. 50) Freyre returned to India shortly after his arrival there. He had left by the time the Capuchins arrived.

When the Capuchins reappeared at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716, after they had left it in 1711, they found Desideri alone at Lhasa, and the question arose who was to cultivate the mission-field, the Jesuits represented by Desideri, or the Capuchins, who had been appointed to the Tibet Mission by the Propaganda in 1703 and had been at Lhasa between 1708 and 1711. While the question was referred to Rome for settlement, Desideri stayed on at Lhasa, in his house or in two of the Lamaseries in the neighbourhood, where he devoted himself, exclusively to the study of the language and the composition of books of controversy in Tibetan verse, or at the hospice of the Capuchins at Takpo-Khier, where his occupations appear to have been similar. He was two years in Takpo (Puini, 315). The order of the General recalling Desideri, at the request of the Propaganda, reached Desideri in January 1721, at Takpo, and immediately he withdrew. Some ill-informed writers, such as the late Rev. Graham Sandberg (*The Exploration of Tibet*, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1904) will have it that Desideri stayed on after being recalled, and that he had been sent by the Jesuits to spy on the work of the Capuchins. Nothing can be more pitiable. His was on the contrary as remarkable case of prompt obedience as one could wish.

The journey back from Lhasa, which he began on April 28, 1721, took him through Kutti (arrival: May 30; departure: December 14), Khatmandu, Bhatgaon, Bettiah territory, Singhia, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, and Agra, where he arrived on April 20, 1722. In September he was at Delhi, where he stayed until in 1725 he left for Pondicherry *via* Allahabad, Benares,

¹ Sept. 24, in Wessels, p. 211.

² Aug. 17, 1715, in Wessels, pp. 214-215.

Patna, and Chandernagore. The Mogor Catalogue of Dec. 1724 mentions him as at Delhi (*JASB.*, 1910, p. 536). He reached Pondicherry on Jan. 10, 1726, studied Tamil to make himself useful in the Carnatic Mission, but on January 21, 1727, left for Rome with the process for the beatification of Blessed John the Brito. Apparently the chief reason for his returning to Rome was that he had repeatedly asked the General, the Propaganda and the Pope to come to Rome in order to represent to them the state of religion in Tibet and urge what reasons he thought he had for defending Jesuit priority in the Tibet mission-field. He arrived at Rome on Dec. 23, 1727 (Puini, 10), on January 23, 1728 (Wessels, p. 273).

From the point of evangelization Desideri's career in Tibet was a failure. He learned Tibetan, wrote Tibetan prose and verse, translated Tibetan books, may have composed, as he intended, a catechism, a grammar and a dictionary, taught the knowledge he had acquired of the language to the Capuchin Fathers, but failed in restoring the old Jesuit mission-field. A little more knowledge at the start of the past history of our Missionaries in Tibet and of Tibetan geography would have avoided the conflict with the Capuchins and would have saved the situation. Had he known where de Andrada had been, all might have been different. But, he did not know, nor did Fr. Freyre, nor did the two Fathers at Agra (1714), nor did the Visitor and the Provincial at Goa, nor any of the Fathers who since 1703 had been busy collecting information about reopening the Jesuit Mission of Tibet. Yet, from 1640 to 1713 only 73 years had elapsed.

Between 1624 and 1640 or so, the Jesuits of the Goa Province, with and after de Andrada, had been at Tsaparang in Guge, and at Rudok; they had visited Ladakh in 1731 in the person of Frs. de Azevedo and de Oliveira. In 1626 the Jesuits of the Cochin Province had gone by Bengal and Kuch Bihar to the Bhutan of our present maps and the dual province of U-Tsang, the capital of which is Lhasa. They had visited Gyantse and Shigatze, had been in touch, at least by correspondence, with the Tsaparang Mission, had crossed Nepal twice on the way back to Bengal, but had not, as far as we are aware, visited Lhasa. By 1632 the Jesuits of Cochin had retired, owing to loss of personnel, and they were not privileged to return.

Desideri considered himself sent to the Tibet of de Andrada. The great mistake he made was to go to the Srinagar of Kashmir instead of striking through the Himalayas, *via* Srinagar in Garhwal, Badrinath and Mana, the route followed by de Andrada in 1624 and later again. After abandoning Tsaparang and Tibet proper (1641?), the Jesuits had a mission at Srinagar in Garhwal till as late as 1654, and perhaps later. Most modern geographers or historians, imperfectly acquainted with the literature of de Andrada's travels, have also understood that de

Andrada's Srinagar was the capital of Kashmir. How could Desideri make the mistake? Had he not seen any of de Andrada's printed relations? Srinagar, Badrinath, Mana and Chapparangue (Tsaparang) are mentioned there, and the distances from Delhi are set forth. How then did he begin by going to Lahore and Kashmir, a considerably greater distance? Had the Fathers of Agra no traditions, no papers, to show the old route? And what of the Archives of Goa? They were as if thrown into a well, says a Jesuit somewhere. If Desideri had had time to consult the Archives while at Goa, he would have found in them papers now in the British Museum, of which I have copies, and which would have given him ample information. But he was at Goa only from Sept. 27 to Nov. 17, 1713. No doubt, Desideri had heard of the Capuchins who in 1708 had reached Lhasa through Nepal. He must have heard of them at Surat anyhow, where he was several months the guest of the Capuchins. He may have met also at Daman Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, who in Nov. 1713 had reliable information of the doings of the Capuchins in Nepal and at Lhasa, which he had received from an Armenian at Patna, a friend of the Capuchins. Before he left Delhi in 1714, Desideri might have known that the Capuchins had left Lhasa in 1711 and were not yet back. Had his intention been to oust the Capuchins, why did he not go to Lhasa by Patna during their absence? He did not, but went in search of the Tibet of Andrada by way of Kashmir. He did not even suspect at the start that Lhasa was in Tibet, it would seem. He had heard of two Tibets, Little Tibet (Baltistan) and Great Tibet (Ladakh). When he arrived at Leh (Ladakh), he discovered that Lhasa was the capital of Greatest Tibet, also called Great Tibet. Apparently all the time he had heard that Lhasa was the capital of Bhutan or Po, and had concluded it was not the Tibet of de Andrada. At Leh Desideri learned that the Capuchins had been at Lhasa and were perhaps still there. It was one of his reasons to refuse at first to go there with Fr. Freyre. But Fr. Freyre, his Superior, overruled his decision of staying in Ladakh. Desideri had no proof that de Andrada had been in Ladakh. He went in search of his mission in the third Tibet, and this brought him to Lhasa. He even entertained the notion that a habit, a biretta, and other things had been left by de Andrada at Lhasa or in that direction. It could not be. de Andrada had never set foot at Lhasa, nor any of the Fathers of the Tsaparang Mission. Freyre and Desideri set out from Leh without discovering that de Azevedo had been there in 1631. They passed through Rudok without discovering that it had been for a time an offshoot of the Tsaparang Mission. They passed through Gartok without knowing how near they were to the Tibet of de Andrada, to Tsaparang. They went to Lhasa. Then the inevitable happened when the Capuchins reappeared on the

scene. What labour and what expense were thus thrown away, because a few points of history and geography had not been cleared up at the start! With Desideri at Tsaparang, the Capuchins of Lhasa would have had no reason to quarrel about priority of occupation, nor would Desideri have had. Both the Capuchins and the Jesuits would have had as large a field as would have satisfied their ambitions.

It is worth noting that the General of the Jesuits urged the reopening of the Jesuit Missions in Tibet at the time when the Capuchins were commissioned by Propaganda to go to Tibet by way of Nepal. That was, in fact, the route which the Pope in 1703 pointed out to the Capuchins on a map in the Vatican. It is not impossible that when the Jesuits heard that on March 14, 1703, the Congregation of Propaganda had decreed to make arrangements with the Procurator General of the Capuchins to open a Capuchin Mission along the banks of the Ganges towards Tibet, they felt as if they were being overlooked. When on March 30, 1704, Father Michael de Amaral was appointed Visitor of the Jesuit Province of Goa, they resolved to re-establish the Jesuit Mission in Tibet. From that moment till the time when Desideri appears on the scene, the question continued to be examined. Father Manoel Monteiro was commissioned to inquire at Agra about the most suitable route and to gauge the chances of success of a fresh effort.¹ When he died in 1707, he had not done more than gather some information from Armenian traders about the most practicable roads.

'As Amaral meanwhile was relieved of his post in 1706, the whole plan seemed off. But, when he was again appointed Visitor in 1707, two young Goa missionaries, Fathers Carvalho and Gill, certain of Amaral's support, wrote to the General and volunteered for the Tibetan Mission. Though they did not see their wishes fulfilled, the Visitor's influence continued to be felt. For, on December 15, 1708, the Provincial Manuel Saraya² informed the General that at the instance of F. de Amaral he had appointed John Carvalho and Peter de Torres for Tibet, but had been forced by the death of two missionaries in Maysore³ to send them thither to supply the vacancies. Rome favoured and even urged the return to the old mission-field, as appears from a letter of the General, F. Tamburini, of July 6, 1709.

'Probably before receiving this letter, on January 3, 1710, Saraya informed the General that Fathers Joseph Martinetti and Francis Koch⁴ had been charged to undertake a new

¹ In the Catalogue of November 1705, he appears as *missus ad Thibetanam Missionem investigandam*, 'sent to examine the question of the Thibetan Mission'. Cf. *JASB.*, 1910, p. 535.

² Read: Sarayya.

³ Mysore.

⁴ *Francis Koch*. Born at Klagensfurt, Oct. 10, 1678, and admitted into the Society, Oct. 21, 1695, he taught grammar and belles-lettres.

venture from Agra—though in fact nothing came of it—and on December 28, 1710, he reaffirmed his diligence in the matter. Such was the state of affairs when on September 27, 1713, Father Desideri disembarked at Goa.' (Cf. C. Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Tibet*, pp. 206-207.)

In his *Notizie Istoriche del Thibet*, the MS. in the possession of the Society of Jesus (cf. Wessels, p. 276), Book I, has a chapter giving an 'Account of the Mission which the Company of Jesus had had in Thibet, from its foundation up to the time of the author'. Did Desideri discover by June 22, 1728, when he completed that MS. in Italy, that de Andrada had never been at Lhasa, but at Tsaparang? I cannot say; but, having arrived at Rome on January 23, 1728, he may not have had the time to make diligent researches in the history of de Andrada's mission and the position of Tsaparang. Working up the materials he had brought from Tibet and all his diaries would have kept him sufficiently busy till June 22, 1728. The simple discovery of the position of Tsaparang might have led him to advocate in his three *Difesa* a compromise, a division of Tibet into an area for the Jesuits with head quarters at Tsaparang, and another for the Capuchins at Lhasa.

In April-July 1912, a young Englishman, Mr. Mackworth Young, was sent to Gartok on a commercial mission. On the way back, at the instigation of Sir Edward Maclagan then at Simla, who supplied him from his library with one of de Andrada's relations and with notes from myself, he went out of his way to visit Tsaparang on the return journey and had no difficulty in recognizing the place and the neighbourhood of the Tsaparang of de Andrada. Nay, he found indubitable proofs of the passage and stay of the Jesuits there. I have still among my papers the report of Mr. Mackworth Young drawn up at Sir Edward Maclagan's residence, Armadale, Simla. A copy of it was taken by Fr. C. Wessels, S.J. Mr. G. Mackworth Young has since written *A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet*, in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. VII, No. 2. (1919), pp. 177-198, where he refers to his discoveries.

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.

Nov. 1, 1929.

Sommervogel states that he wrote from Goa in 1706 a letter respecting his forthcoming journey to Agra and thence to Tartary. Fr. Huonder (*Deutsche Jesuiten—Missionäre des 17 und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg, Herder, 1896) says that he was destined for a Mission to Tibet, the king of which had asked for Missionaries. He died at Agra on Oct. 8, 1711. One 'P. Franciscus Borgia', a German, left Lisbon for India in 1700 (A. Franco's lists). The reference in Sommervogel is: *Brief P. Koch, Soc. Jesu, an R. Patrem Mordax, Soc. Jesu, geschrieben zu Goa, 1706. Von seiner Reis von Goa nach Agra, und ferner in die Tartarey.*—In the *Welt-Bott* of Fr. Stöcklein, V, No. 117.

1. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society, Rome (Goa, 12 Nov., 1713).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist.* 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

(P. 1.) Molto R. do in X.po
P.re N.ro,

P.C. CCLXXII.

Si compiace S.D.M. p. mezzo
dl P.e Provinciale di chia-
marmi, e destinarmi all nuova
Missione del Tibet. Con tutto
il mio cuore, abbraccio, e
seguo la voce, e volontà di
Dio, e questo sarà lo scopo,
ed il fine, a cui consacro tutto
me, tutti i miei pensieri, opere,
forze, e vitta sino all' ultimo
respiro, Mà perchè chi vuole
efficacem.te il fine cerca tutti
i mezzi, e particolarmente i

Our Very Reverend Father
in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

It pleased His Divine Ma-
jesty by means of the Father
Provincial to call me and des-
tine me to the new Mission of
Tibet.¹ With all my heart
I embrace and follow the voice,
and will of God, and that will
be the aim and the end to which
I consecrate my whole self,
all my thoughts, works,
strength and life, up to my last
breath. But, since he who
efficaciously wants the end

¹ The letter is dated Nov. 12, 1713. Desideri had arrived at Goa only on Sept. 27, 1712. We have reason to think that the General had asked the Provincial to let him go to Tibet, in case he judged him a fit subject for such an enterprise: for in his letter to the General (Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721) Desideri says that the General gave him permission at Rome in 1712 to go to Tibet, and that the Provincial of Goa confirmed that permission in 1713. We must therefore take exception to the conclusion reached by Fr. Wessels, pp. 207-208. 'Was Desideri specially commissioned by the authorities at Rome to re-establish the Tibet-Mission? We have it on his own authority (P. 208) that for some time before leaving Europe he had entertained the idea of working in that field, and his purpose to devote himself to that Mission was approved of and blessed by Pope Clement XI at a special audience granted to the two travellers, but neither Desideri's letters nor any other extant writing contain any hint, that he had a special charge with regard to Tibet. His letters rather go to show that he had not. Thus when writing to the General on November 12 and 15, 1713, he informs him that he has been chosen and destined for the new mission by the Provincial and that he is delighted at the appointment. He then urges the General to address him a special letter confirming the appointment and ordering him (Desideri) explicitly to open the mission of Tibet and to act in all this under direct responsibility to Rome; thus he will be able to overcome all the difficulties that might be raised against the undertaking. Six weeks later he returns to this point.' There was no need in 1713 for Desideri to recall to the General that he had given him permission in 1712 at Rome to reopen the Tibet Mission. The Provincial chose and destined Desideri, as we now can see, because the General himself had recommended him to the Provincial of Goa for the task. Nor does Desideri ask the General to confirm the choice of the Provincial, but to make it impossible for the Provincial to recall his choice and decision.

The two travellers at the audience of the Pope in 1712 were Desideri and the companion of his travels to India, Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

più efficaci, p. ottenerlo; p. questo, conoscendo io, che l' autorità di Sua P.tà èi l mezzo, trà gl' umani, il più efficace, questa invoco, questa con ong'istanza dimando.

Dissi, l'autorità di Sua P.tà essere il più efficace per conseguire il fine propostomi, perchè ella sola frà tutti può rimuovere tutti gl'impedimenti, che distornino il conseguimento del fine sopradetto. Due sorti d'impedimenti riconosco in una tal impresa. Alcuni sono le difficoltà, e i travagli grandi, che possono incontrarsi nel viaggio; mà di questi non fò caso veruno, perchè pongo la mia fiducia tutta nel mio Dio potentissimo, misericordiosissimo, fedelissimo, e sò di certo, che *spes non confundit*; e tanto e lungi, che mi sbigottiscano i travagli, che anzi questi m'invitano, perchè questi sono ciò che son venuto a cercare nell' India p. amor del mio buon Gesù, risolutissimo ò di sup. are tutti i travagli, ò di morire in mezzo ad essi soddissatissimo di tal sorte, perchè così morirò con una morte simile a quella di Redentore, de' santi, e de' veri figliuoli dlla mia amatiss. a Madre la Comp. a. L'altra sorte d'impedimenti, i quali l' esperienza di clò che in altri succedè altre volte m'insegna essere i più gagliardi, e perciò più da temersi, e perciò da meglio precautelarsi contro d'essi, sono le volontà de' Nostri medesimi, che incatenano chi corre, tag-

seeks out all the means, chiefly the most efficacious means, to obtain it, I therefore, knowing that the authority of Your Paternity is among human means the most efficacious one, ask for that, and request it with all earnestness.

I said that the authority of Your Paternity is the most efficacious means to obtain the end proposed to me, because it alone, of all the rest, can remove all the obstacles which might prevent the attainment of the end above-said. I see two kinds of obstacles in such an enterprise. Some are the difficulties and great toils which can be met on the journey; but of these I make no account, because I place all my confidence in my most powerful, most merciful, most faithful God, and I know for certain that *spes non confundit* (hope confoundeth not);¹ and the toils, instead of frightening me, invite me rather: for these are the things I have come to seek in India for love of my good Jesus, being firmly resolved either to overcome all toils, or to die in their midst, most happy in such lot, because thus shall I die death similar to that of the Redeemer, of the Saints, and of the true sons of my most beloved mother the Company. The other obstacles, which the experience of what happened at other times to others teaches me to be the most troublesome, and therefore the most to be feared, and therefore the most to be guarded against, are the

¹ Rom. 5. 5.

liano le ali a chi vola, in una parola a spada tratta si oppongono a' voleri dello zelo di Sua P. tà, e perciò a' manifesti voleri di Dio.

P.re Nostro, eccomi genuflesso a' piedi suoi con tutto il cuore. Quivi posto la supplico per amor di Dio, che così vuole; e p. il sangue preziosissimo di Gesù, che merita di essere esaudito, la supplico, dico, a darmi in questo genere l'aiuto, ed il rinforzo della sua autorità, dandomi assoluta, totale, e indipendente facoltà di proseguir' il viaggio fino al Tibet, p. potermi prevalere di essa in caso, che, conforme si dice qui comunemente da tutti io, ricevessi un' arresto p. istrada, dopo che già saranno partite le lettere, che si mandano a Sua P. tà.

P.re N.ro Dio mi chiama al Tibet, e se non giungo là, non proverrà certam. te da me; onde quando S.D.M. nel Giudizio mi dicesse; p. che non andassi? che cosa gl'hò da rispondere? Non avevo l'autorità di ciò fare mentre gl'uomini me l'impedivano; Mà perchè sarebbe mia colpa l'istesso non procurare tal' autorità, p. questo gle la dimando, e di nuove gle la chieggo p. il sangue preziosiss.o di Gesù.

La supplico altresì ad applicare buon numero di Messe, e a far fare orazioni nelle nostre case, e particolarmente nel Noviziato, p. ottenere, che S.D.M. benedica, prosperi, e conduca a buon' esito quest'

wills of Ours themselves, which bind him who runs, and clip the wings of him who flies, in one word with drawn sword are opposed to the wishes of Your Paternity's zeal, and therefore to the manifest will of God.

Our Father, here I am, kneeling at your feet with all my heart. Placed here, I beseech you for God's sake, who wants it so, and by the most precious blood of Jesus, which merits being heard, I beseech you, I say, to give me in this matter the help and the support of your authority, giving me absolute, complete and independent permission to pursue the journey up to Tibet, so that I may avail myself thereof in case that, as is commonly said here by all, I be stopped on the way, when the letters now being sent to Your Paternity will have left.

Our Father, God calls me to Tibet, and, if I do not get there, it will certainly not be because of me; hence, if at the Judgment God should tell me: Why didst thou not go? what sort of thing have I to answer? I had not the authority of doing so, since men prevented me? But, as that would be my fault, in that I did not procure such authority, I therefore ask it of you, and again I beg for it by the most precious blood of Jesus.

I also beseech you to apply a good number of Masses, and to cause prayers to be said in our houses, and in particular in the Novitiate, to obtain that His Divine Majesty bless, prosper, and bring to good

impresa di tanta gloria di Dio, e dalla quale si può sp. are la conversione, e salute di tante anime. E posto a' suoi piedi la supplico dell'aiuto dlle sue S. S. Orazioni, e S. S. Sacrifzj, e dlla sua S.a Benedizione.

issue this enterprise of so much glory to God, and from which may be hoped the conversion and salvation of so many souls. And, kneeling at your feet, I beg the help of your Holy Prayers, and of your Holy Sacrifices, and of your Holy Blessing.

Di. V.P.

Goa, 12. Novembre 1713.

Ind.mo in X.po Servo,

Ippolito Desideri.

Your Paternity's

Goa, the 12th November 1713.

Most unworthy Servant in Christ,

Ippolito Desideri.

2. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society, Rome (Goa, 15 Nov., 1713).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist.* 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

(P. 1.) Molto R.do in X.po
P.re N. ro,

P.C. CCLXXII.b.

Con altra via hò dato parte a Sua P.tà dell' essere io stato destinato da questo P.re Provinciale p. tentar di nuovo l'impresa d' aprire la Missione dl Tibet. Con questa 2.a via confermo il medesimo. Sò che questa è volontà di Dio, et è volontà di Sua P.tà che mostrò il Suo zelo grande, e giustissimo, che intorno à ciò hà, con quelle parole, che ritrovo in una sua lettera scritta a'6 di Luglio dl 1709., che sono le seguenti-Ex data occasione valde commendamus, ut aperiantur novae Missiones, et ferventius agatur de reditu ad *Tibetum*, Nec deterreant ullae difficulties; *nam carusa Dei est*, qui iã sternit viã p. Mogolense imperium.

Our Very Reverend Father
in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

By another *via* I have informed Your Paternity¹ that I have been destined by this Father Provincial to try anew the enterprise of opening the Mission of Tibet. By this second *via* I confirm the same. I know that this is the will of God, and the will of Your Paternity, who showed the great and most just zeal you have, regarding this, by these words which I find back in a letter of yours written on the 6th July 1709, which are as follows: 'Occasion offering, we greatly commend that new Missions be opened, and that more fervour be shown for returning to Tibet. And let no difficulties frighten: for it is God's cause, who already

¹ In the letter of Goa, Nov. 12, 1713.

Ah P.re N.ro, io non posso quì esprimerle, che animo, che vigore mi diano quelle belle parole: *Causa Dei est*. Le prometto di certo, conforme me ne sono già risolutissimam. te protestato col mio Dio, che quanto è p. parte mia, ò io hò da morire p. il viaggio, ò hò col favor divino a entrare nel Tibet; nè fò conto veruno, nè di patimenti, nè di difficoltà, nè di pericoli, nè della morte. Mi dichiaro, e mi protesto, che p. la gloria di Dio hò da fare tutto il posibile con l' aiuto dlla Divina grazia. Di sorte che, se succedesse, che p. il viaggio io mi vedessi mancare, e già vicino a morire se vedrò di poter dare, prima dll' ultimo respiro, un passo di più verso il Tibet, mi dipiù verso il Tibet, mi dichiaro, e mi protesto, che hò da dare quel passo di più, e consecrarlo all gloria di Dio, e alla conversione dl Tibet. Questo è p. parte di me aiutato dalla grazia divina. Mà se (il che Dio non permetta mai) se conforme è succeduto altre volte, e conforme si dice comunemente, che sia p. succedere anche questa volta, doppo essersi di quà mandate bellissime lettere a Sua P. tà, mi venisse un' arresto, e mi venisse da' nostri medesimi impedito, e sturbato, ciò che adesso mi vien comandato, ciò che manifestamente è volontà di Dio, ciò che è volontà espressissima di Sua P. tà, tante volte, e con tanto zelo, e fervore manifestata; se mi fosse impedito cio, che porta seco di conseguenza tanta

paves the way through the Mogol empire'.

Ah, Our Father, I cannot here express to you what courage, what vigour these beautiful words give me: It is God's cause! I promise you for sure, as I have already protested most resolutely to my God, that, as far as in me lies, either I have to die on the journey, or I have with the divine favour to enter Tibet. Nor do I make any account, either of sufferings, or of difficulties, or of dangers, or of death. I declare and protest that, for the glory of God, I have to do all that is possible with the help of the Divine grace, so that, should it happen that on the journey I see myself breaking down and already near death, yet see that before my last breath I can make one step more towards Tibet, I declare and protest that I shall make that step more, and shall consecrate it to the glory of God, and to the conversion of Tibet. This for my part, helped by the divine grace. But if (which may God never permit!) if, as has happened at other times, and as is commonly said will happen also this time, after most beautiful letters have been sent from here to Your Paternity. I should be stopped, and I should be prevented by Ours themselves, and *that* should be disturbed which now is ordered me, that which manifestly is the will of God, that which is the very express will of Your Paternity, manifested so many times and with such zeal and fervour: if that be

gloria di Dio, e la salute eterna di tante anime redente col Sangue preziosiss.o di Gesù; che potrò, che doverò io fare in tal caso? Io non voglio aspettar' un tal caso; Mi stimo obbligato in coscienza di premunirmi avanti, e di implorare il di lei potentissimo aiuto in questo particolare.

P.re N.ro, eccomi genuflesso a' suoi piedi, i quali riverentemente bacio. La prego, la supplico per quello zelo ardentiss.o che hà della salute dll' anime, per il sangue preziosissimo di Gesu, col quale esse furone redente: per amor di Dio, la di cui maggior gloria le stà tanto a cuore; la supplico a favorirmi, p. maggior assicuramento di un negozio tanto importante, di una sua Patente, nella quale espressamente mi dia ordine di andar' ad aprir la Missione del Tibet, e di andare con l' autorità, e dipendenza immediata di V.P. tà, non ostante qualunque ordine in contrario che mi fosse già stato fatto da altri Superiori in queste parti; aggiungendo ordine espresso, che nissuno chiunque sia, mi disturbi, nè mi trattenga, nè m'impedisca in modo veruno l'ademoire la volontà, e gl'ordini Suoi.

In oltre si degni di raccomandare, e far raccomandare premurosissimam te a S.D.M. nelle nre case, e especialm. te nel Noviziato, e me miserabile, e il buon successo di questa impresa e la conversione del

prevented me which of consequence carries with it such glory of God and the eternal salvation of so many souls redeemed by the most precious Blood of Jesus, what shall I be able, what shall I be obliged to do in such a case? I do not want to await such a case. I consider myself obliged in conscience to forearm myself and to beseech your most powerful help particularly in this.

Our Father, here I am kneeling at your feet, which I most reverently kiss. I beg you, I entreat you, by that most ardent zeal which you have for the salvation of souls, by the most precious blood of Jesus, whereby they were redeemed, by the love of God, whose greater glory have so much at heart, I entreat you to favour me for the greater safety of so important an affair, with a Patent of yours, wherein you expressly give me the order to go and open the Mission of Tibet, and to go with Your Paternity's authority and immediate dependence, notwithstanding any order to the contrary which might already have been given me by other Superiors in these parts, adding the express order that no one, whoever he be, shall trouble me, or shall divert me, or shall impede me in any manner from fulfilling your will and orders.

Besides, deign to commend and to get commended most earnestly to His Divine Majesty in our houses, and especially in the Novitiate, both wretched me and the good success of this enterprise and the conversion

Tibet. Con che fo fine suppli-
candole dlla sua S. a Benedi-
zione, e S. S. Sacrificj.

Di. V.P.

Goa, 15 Novembre 1713.

Ind.mo. in X.po Servo,

Ippolito Desideri.

(P. 2) (Address): Al Molto R.
do in X. po P.re N.ro Il P.re
Michel' Angelo Tamburini
Prep. to Gen. le
d. a Comp.a di Gesù.

Roma.

(Endorsement on the same
page as this address):

Goae 12 et 15 Novembris 1713.

P. Hippolitus Desiderii.

Explicat desideria quibus
flagrat, ingrediendi Missionem
Tibet tensem, vel moriendi in
ipsamet expeditione, et ne ab
aliquo nostrorum, impediatur,
petit ut P. V.a illi mittat
Patentes litteras, quibus in-
dependentem ab aliis possit
progredi in hac determina-
tione, etc.

of Tibet. Wherewith I end,
beseeching your Holy Blessing
and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Paternity's

Goa, the 15th November 1713.

Most unworthy Servant in
Christ,

Ippolito Desideri.

(Address): To our Very Rev-
erend Father in Christ, Father
Michelangelo Tambirini,
Provost General,
of the Company of Jesus.

Rome.

(Endorsement):

Goa, the 12th and the 15th
November 1713.

Fr. Hippolitus Desideri.

He explains his ardent de-
sires of entering the Tibet
Mission, or of dying in the
very expedition, and, lest he be
prevented by anyone of Ours,
he asks Your Paternity to send
him letters-patent whereby he
may pursue this determination
independently from the others,
etc.

3. Letter of Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, S.J.,¹ to
the General of the Society, Rome (Damao, 29 Nov., 1713).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus:
Goana Epist. 1569-1742 (*Goa.* 9).)

M. to R.do in X.po Padre
Nostro,

P.C. CCLXXIII.

Hebbi l'honore di ricevere
nel fin di Marzo di quest'

Our Very Reverend Father
in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

I had the honour of receiving
at the end of March of this

¹ The signature of the writer of this letter is not clear. Fr. Wessels
reads Martinetti, and so it could be read, if his name were otherwise known
to have been Martinetti. I have his name down as Joseph Anthony

anno la lettera di V.P.M.R. da, scritta a 21 (22?) di Marzo del 1711: ne hò fatto la dovuta stima, sì per inferirne la buona salute di V.P.tà, come anche per essersi compiaciuta di gradire le notizie, che le havevo trasmesse.

Stando nel mese d'Aprile sulle mosse per cicornare a Prov. a di Goa acrisi dà Surrate in questo stess' anno a V.P. dandole conto delle disgratie, e calunnie ch' havevo sofferto: come correndo rischio d'essere affrontato dal Vicere, havevo già determinato di passare al nostro Collo d' Aspahan in Persia; e come finalmente conosciuta più chiara che la luce del sole la mia innocenza, era stato invitato dal P. Ant. o d' Azevedo, e da PP. più gravi d.a Prov. a à ritornarvi, ai quali inviti mi era reso; venendovi di fatto nel mese di Maggio.

Promisi n.a su d.a lettera di ragguagliare à V.P. tà lo

year¹ the letter of Your Very Reverend Paternity, written on the 21st (22nd?) March 1711. I made due esteem thereof, both because I inferred from it your Paternity's good health, and also because you were pleased to think well of the informations I had transmitted to you.

Being in the month of April on the point of returning to the Province of Goa, I wrote from Surrate this same year to Your Paternity, giving you an account of the disgrace and calumnies² I have suffered: how, running the risk of being insulted by the Viceroy,³ I had already resolved to go to our College of Aspahan⁴ in Persia; and how, finally, when my innocence appeared clearer than day light I had been invited by Fr. Antonio d'Azevedo, and by the most worthy Fathers of the Province, to return thither, to which invitations, I had yielded, coming there in fact in the month of May.⁵

In the above-said letter I promised to inform Your Pa-

Martinelli in the Catalogue of January 2, 1710, where he appears with Fr. Francis Borgia Koch as in Mogor. The name was read Martinelli by Fr. Van Meurs. The Catalogue of January 1708 and of December 1716, which immediately precedes and follows, does not contain their names. (Cf. *JASB.*, 1910, p. 536.) I find the name of 'P. Josephus Antonius Martineti,' who came out, from Lisbon in 1708, in Fr. A. Franco's *Synopsis Annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania ab anno 1540 usque ad annum 1725. Augustae Vindelicorum et Graecii, M.DCC. XXVI.* We may therefore decide in favour of Martinetti.

¹ Since he says he had taken information on Tibet during three years, and we find him for the first time in the Mogor Catalogue of January 2, 1710, he appears to have come back from Mogor to Surat in the beginning of 1713 or not long before.

² I do not know what is meant by these calumnies.

³ The Viceroy of Goa.

⁴ Ispahan.

⁵ I understand that in the month of May 1713 he arrived at Goa. What brought him to Damao soon after?

del Tibete per minuto; mà hò fatta riflless.e non essere già necessaria tanta minutia; supposto il non appartenere più alla Comp. a' tal Miss. e; e ne dirò in breve le ragioni.

Prim. te perche con tutto l' impegno del suo zelo v' è già entrata la Congreg.e de Prop. dà; la quale già vi hà mandati 8 soggetti per la parte di Pattnā; due de' quali sono morti, uno à ritornato in Europa, uno resta in Pattnā, un altro in Bottant alla metà del viaggio, e trè vi sono entrati, il più vecchio de' quali intendo che è pur morto: e le nuove che di là mandano sono (P. 2) piene di disperazione di farvi alcun profitto. Così mi scrisse un Armenio amicissimo

ternity minutely of the state of Tibet; but I have reflected that such minuteness is no longer necessary, considering that that Mission no longer belongs to the Company; and I shall briefly tell the reasons.

First, because with the utmost of its zeal the Congregation of Propaganda has already entered there, having sent thither already¹ subjects by the side of Pattnā, two of whom have died, another has gone back to Europe, one remains at Pattnā, another is in Bottant, half-way the journey, and three have entered there, the oldest of whom, I hear, also died; and the news they send from there is (P. 2) full of despondency of doing there any good. Thus wrote to me from

¹ The eight Capuchins sent since 1704 must be the following:—

- (1) Fr. Gianfrancesco of Camerino.
- (2) Fr. Felice of Montecchio.
- (3) Fr. Giuseppe of Ascoli.
- (4) Fr. Giuseppe Maria of Fossombrone.
- (5) Fr. Francis Mary of Tours.
- (6) Bro. Fiacre of Paris.
- (7) Fr. Giovanni of Fano.
- (8) Fr. Domenico of Fano.

One of the two who had died would be Fr. Gianfrancesco of Camerino, who died at Mardin, in Mesopotamia, in 1704, during the overland journey of the first six mentioned above; the other was probably Fr. Giuseppe of Ascoli, who was the first Capuchin to reach Lhasa, on June 12, 1708; he died at the English factory of Patna (date disputed). The one who went back to Europe would be Fr. Giuseppe Maria of Fossombrone, who returned from Jerusalem or Palestine; some also make Bro. Fiacre of Paris go back from Bagdad. The one who remained at Patna appears to have been Fr. Felice of Montecchio. We have the name of four who reached Tibet in 1708–11; Giuseppe of Ascoli, Giovanni of Fano, Domenico of Fano and Fr. Francis Mary of Tours. One of these four must be the one who is said to have stayed half-way in Bottant, by which Nepal is meant. The oldest of the 'three' who went to Tibet must be Fr. Francis Mary of Tours, who died, it appears, at the Dutch factory of Singhia, near Patna, at a date not ascertained exactly by previous writers.

On the whole, Fr. Martinetti's correspondent was pretty well informed; but Martinetti's news was old. He does not know on Nov. 29, 1713, that the Capuchins withdrew in 1711, and that one, or even two, of them went to Rome at the end of 1712 or in the beginning of 1713 to represent

loro da Pattnā, il quale havea dimorato per 30 anni mercante nel Tibet. La ragione è perche, dal tempo, che vi fù il Nostro P. Andrade, 80 e piu anni, si è tutto mutato quel Regno. Nel tempo dell' Imp. e Arnzeb del Gran Mogol si fece tutto moro, per ricevere da lui un buon soccorso contra un Regolo vicino, che andaua entrando vittorioso nel loro Regno: Micuperato il perduto, tornarono all' Idolatria, e al presente stanno più fissi che mai ne suoi errori.

2^o: Perche anche supposto che il campo fosse libero, e desse speranza di frutto, è impossib. e, per l'enorme distanza, a questa Prov.a l'assistervi ai perche le spese altrepassano le sue forze, come anche perche e scarza di soggetti, e per farvene giunger uno è necess.o mandarne quattro.

3^o: Perche quel Regno è già diviso frà vary Regoli, e non sisaa qual appigliarsi.

Pattnā a great friend of theirs, an Armenian, who has stayed 30 years as a merchant in Tibet. The reason is that, from the time our Father Andrade was there, 80 years and more ago, that Kingdom has become quite changed. At the time of the Emperor Aranzeb of the Great Mogol, it became quite Moor, in order to receive from him a good succour against a neighbouring Kinglet, who went and entered victoriously their Kingdom: when they had recovered what they had lost, they returned to Idolatry, and at present they are more than ever rooted in their errors.¹

2ndly: Because, even supposing that the field is free and gives hope of fruit, it is impossible for this Province, owing to the enormous distance to stay there, both because the expenses exceed its means, and because also it is short of subjects; and to make one reach there, it is necessary to send four.²

3rdly: Because that Kingdom is now divided among various Kinglets, and it is not known to whom to go.³

to the Propaganda that the financial situation at Lhasa was desperate and that the Mission must be strengthened in men and means. Why had Martinetti in April 1713, while at Surat, not sought the last information from the Capuchins at Surat, who generally gave hospitality to the Jesuits passing through the place?

¹ The Kingdom here referred to cannot be the Tibet of Lhasa. We do not think it can mean Nepal. Does Martinetti refer to Little Tibet, or Baltistan, which Desideri says was formerly Buddhist, but had in great part become Muhammadan, by being under the government of the Great Mogol? Cf. Puini, *Il Tibet*, p. 27.

² The answer to this objection is that the Provincial of Goa had just appointed Desideri to reopen the Mission.

³ The Capuchins had found where to go. Martinetti had not discovered where de Andrada had been.

40: Perche se pur si doyesse, sentire, sarebbe dalla Cina, ò anche Cocincina con la quale confina: onde fù provid.a del Cielo che per ogni parte mi fosse impedito l'andarvi. Queste sono le vere notitie; e se altre costi si spacciano (riservando sempre un miracolo d.a divina Onnipot.a) creda che sono favole; perche in trè anni hò esaminato bene il ponto.

Conchiudeva io la lettera su d.a con una caldissima supplica a V.P.M.R., ai cui piedi prostrato le chiedeva licenza di ritornare in Europa. Perche supposto il non essere più capace di intraprend.e le Missioni, como fui dicchiato in Goa, non posso in alcun modo accomodarmi a questi geny, ed a questi impieghi. Le Missioni di quà più disgustano con l'inconstanza del frutto che si vede doppo due giorni, di quel che consolino con la frequenza alla Missione.

Mio Riveritissimo P. Gen.le (P. 3) Io le parlo chiaro come à mio Padre. Io non hò fatto voto per l' Indie: l'oggetto della mia risolut.e, ch'erano le Missioni già è svanito: vivo

4thly: Because, if we had to establish ourselves, it should be from China, or even Cochinchina, on which it borders;¹ hence it was heavenly providence that my going thither was impeded from every side.² There are the true informations; and, if others are spread over there (always excepting a miracle of the divine Omnipotence), believe that they are fables, because I have well examined the point for three years.³

I concluded the above-said letter with a very warm request to Your Very Reverend Paternity, prostrate at whose feet I asked for permission to return to Europe, because, considering the inability of further undertaking the Missions, as I was told at Goa,⁴ I cannot in any way accommodate myself to these characters and these employments. The Missions here disgust more by the inconstancy of the fruit, which is seen after two days, than they console by the concourse to the Mission.

My Most Reverend Father General, (P. 3) I speak to you clearly, as to my Father. I have not made a vow for the Indies; the object of my resolution, which was the

¹ This is childish.

² This man appears to congratulate himself on having found no entrance into Tibet. Fr. Wessels (p. 207 n. 3) says well of him: 'Evidently this man was not the stuff of which missionaries are made, and that he could be mistaken for a possible successor to an Andrade seems, to say the least, somewhat surprising.'

³ Did he not feel that his objections might be overruled, and that he might be thought to have been remiss in taking information?

⁴ Was he not told at Goa in May 1713 that personally he was unfit for opening new Missions, or reopening that of Tibet?

affittissimo per più cause, che non mi è lecito confidare a fogli che volano sì longi. Io non hò fatto alcuna colpa per meritare questo esilio, e questa sì dura, e sì grave mortificatione. Le spese del viaggio con licenza de' Superiori grà stanno depositate e sono 250 scudi ch'hebbi d' elem.a dal Medico Francese del Gran Mogol; e q.do non bastino sò dove posso senza viltà supplire al di più. Sia servita la supplico di mandarmi la licenza, la quale guidico nel Sig.e essermi necessar.a; e tanto necessaria che non faccio caso di qualunque giudicio si formi del mio ritorno; perche sã quel dio che mi ha da giudicare che la chiedo per bene dell'anima mia; e quanto più esaminò avanti à Dio questo punto, tanto più mi par d'essere obbligato a chiederla. Non mela neghi di gratia, perche l'apprehensione di una causa giusta è sovente Maestra ne' spiriti fiacchi com' è il mio di dottrine, e d'inventioni nocive; nelle quali supplico S.D. M. è non lasciarmi cadere, e V.P.M.R. per carità ad ovviarle;

e chiedendole la sua S. ta Benedizione le baccio suppli-

Missions, has now vanished; I live most afflicted, for several reasons, which it is not licit for me to trust to pages that fly so far. I have not committed any fault for which I should deserve this exile, and this so hard and heavy mortification. With the permission of the Superiors, the expenses for the journey are already deposited, and are 500 scudi, which I had in alms from the French Physician of the Great Mogol;¹ and, if they do not suffice, I know where I can without shame supply the remainder. Be pleased, I beg of you, to send me the permission, which I judge in the Lord is necessary for me, and so necessary that I care not what judgment be formed of my return; because the God who has to judge me knows that I ask it for the good of my soul; and the more I examine this point before God, the more it seems to me I am obliged to ask it. Do not, I pray, deny it me, because the perception of a just cause is often in weak spirits as is mine, the Mistress of harmful teachings and inventions,² wherein I beseech His Divine Majesty not to let me fall, while I beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity, of your charity, to obviate them.

And, begging your Holy Blessing, I entreatingly with

¹ Who was the French physician at the Court of the Mogol who had given Martinetti 500 scudi for his return to Europe? Had he not received that money before he retired from Agra to Surat?

² This is like a threat of leaving the Society in case his request for returning to Europe is not granted.

chevole con le lagrime agl' the tears in my eyes, kiss your
occhi le mani. hands.

Damone 29 9bre 1713.

Damone,¹ the 29th November
1713.

D.V.P.M.R.da

Your Very Reverend

Indegno in X.po Fiklio,

Paternity's Unworthy Son in
Christ,

Gioseppe Ant.o Martinetti.

Goseppe Antonio Martinetti.

(P. 4) (Address):

Al M.to R. do in X.po
Padre N.ro

Il P. Michel' Angelo' Tam-
burini

Preposito Generale d.
a Comp. di Gesù.

Roma.

(P. 4) (Address):

To Our Very Reverend
Father in Christ,

Fr. Michel' Angelo Tamurini,

Provost General of the Com-
pany of Jesus.

Rome.

(Traces of the seal below the
address.)

(Traces of the seal below the
address.)²

4. Extracts from a letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J.,
to the General of the Society of Jesus, Rome (Surat, 30 Dec.,
1713).³

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus:
Goana Epist. 1769-1742 (*Goa* 9).)

Fin quì hò fatto la causa Up to here I have spoken in
comune di q.ta Prov. e da the common cause of this
Comp.a. Mi sia lecito aggiun- Province and of the Company.

¹ Damao.

² The seal is too indistinct for description. It appears to show the monogram of the Society of Jesus, I H S, with rays all round the inner rim of the seal.

³ The date of the letter is clearly Surat, Dec. 30, 1713, and Fr. Wessels (p. 210, n. 4) rightly observes that in his letter of Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, Desideri dates his arrival at Surat on January 4, 1714. Cf. Puini, p. 361. Puini (p. 6) says moreover that he left Samão on January 1, 1714, and arrived at Surat on January 4. His letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714, also gives January 4, 1714, as the date of his arrival at Surat. How then did Desideri date the *end* of his letter, which appears to have been a rather long one, from Surat, on Dec. 30, 1713, when he was still at Damão? I do not see any plausible reason. On his arrival at Damão on Dec. 21, 1713, he fell ill (Puini, 6). Had he been at Surat on Dec. 30, he should have left Damão on Dec. 27 at the latest, since he calculates elsewhere 4 days of travelling (January 1-4) for the journey from Damão to Surat.

gere qualche cosa in causa mia propria.

Conforme già scrissi a V.P. da Goa, il P. Prov.le mi avvisò p. la Missione dl Tibet. Con tutto ciò tanto in Goa, quanto nel restante dlla Prov. a hò sentito in q.to particolare tanto in contrario, e tanti esempi sò di altri mandati, e poi trattenuti; che a dirla chiaramente hò concepito un gran timore di dover ricevere un solenne arresto in Agra. Questo arresto (confesso sinceramente la mia fiacchezza, e il mio poco spirito) mi traggerebbe l' anima, e mi riuscirebbe sommamente aspro.

Avendo io fatte con specialiss.a attenzione varie diligenze hò inteso, che quelli Genti dl Thibet sono beniss.o disposte: hò inteso, anche *ex confessione* di verij Nostri, che quelle Genti desiderano, che là tornino i N.ri; sò di certo, che q.ta Prov.a hà la Comp.a varij Beni, le rendite de' quali *ex Justitia* appartengono all Missione dl Thibet. Sò *etiam ex confessione* di chi ha il maneggio, che una tal Sig.ra Donna Giuliana, che stà nel Mogor, hà già dato molta

Be it permitted me to add something in my own cause.

As I already wrote to Your Paternity from Goa, the Father Provincial destined me for the Mission of Tibet. However, both in Goa and in the rest of the Province I have felt in this particular so much to the contrary, and I know of so many examples of others who were sent and were then detained,¹ that, to speak to you clearly, I have conceived a great fear that I am bound to receive a solemn order to stop, when at Agra. This stopping (I candidly confess my weakness and my little spirit) would pierce my soul, and would be for me most disagreeable.

Having with very special attention made sundry inquiries, I have understood that those peoples of Tibet are very well disposed; I have understood, also from the declarations of sundry of Ours, that those Peoples wish Ours to return thither;² I know for certain that in this Province the Company has various goods, the revenues of which *ex Justitiâ* (in Justice) appertain to the Mission of Tibet.³ I know *etiam* (also) from the confession of who has the

¹ The examples of others, sent and then detained, seem to refer to Tibet. We have, indeed, noted in our introduction the examples of Frs. Manoel Monteiro, John Carvalho, Peter Gill, Peter de Torres, Joseph Martinetti and Francis Kock (1706-1713), none of whom carried through the project of reopening the Tibet Mission. Desideri may have had in mind similar cases in connection with other Missions.

² See note 6 of our introduction. We shall hear more of this in the letter of Leh, Aug. 5, 1715.

³ The King of Tsaparang had indeed given the Fathers in 1626 a large sum of money, amounting to Rs. 8,000, for founding the Tsaparang Mission. (Cf. *JASB.*, 1925, p. 60.) The money must have been invested in properties in Bombay, presumably at Parel.

quantità di denaro da impiegarsi in limosine p. li Poveri di Thibet; e sò di certo, che q. to denaro stà nelle mani de' Nostri. Sò di certo, che vi è la strada praticata, e non una, mà più d'una p. il Thibet; e q. to mi consta *ex confessione* anche de' Nostri, e particolarmente di chi è stato in Agra.

Tutto ciò presupposto torno a dire a V.P., che quant' è del canto mio sono risolutissimo di far tutti i tentativi, tutte le diligenze, tutto il possibile per riaprire quella Missione, a cui sono stato destinato, fin' all' ultimo passo, fin' all' ultimo respiro, e di non desistere giamai, senza riguardo nè a difficoltà, nè a patimenti, nè a pericoli, nè pur' alla morte medesima. A ciò mi son' impegnato col mio Dio, e di nuovo m'impegno, col voto che gl' hò fatto di non desistere dal canto mio da tal' impresa, e di far gagliardissime istanze, ed efficacissime a' Superiori p. eseguir tal' opera e di usar

management, that a certain Signora Donna Giuliana, who is in the Mogor, has already given a great quantity of money to be spent in alms on the poor peoples of Tibet;¹ and I know for certain that this money is in the hands of Ours. I know for certain that the road to Tibet is used, and not one, but more than one; and this is clear to me from the confession of Ours also, and particularly of who has been at Agra.²

All this being presupposed, I say again to Your Paternity that, inasmuch as depends on me, I am firmly resolved to use every attempt, every diligence, all that is possible to reopen that Mission, to which I have been destined, even to the last step, to the last breath, and never to desist, caring not, either for difficulties, or sufferings, or dangers, or death itself. To this I have pledged myself with my God, and I again pledge myself, with the vow I have made to him not to desist on my side from such enterprise, and to make most earnest and efficacious entreaties to the Superiors in

¹ This point is obscure to us yet. Probably more is to be learned from Desideri's *Notizie Istoriche*, Bk. 1, ch. 5, 'of the Churches and Christianity which the Company of Jesus has at Delly and of some notable Christians living there'. Cf. Wessels, p. 276. The portion of Donna Juliana in the Florence MS. was obtained by W. Irvine, the editor of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, for the late Fr. S. Noti, S.J., formerly of Bombay, I have not seen it. On Donna Juliana cf. my article in *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1917, pp. 1-11.

We suggest that the Fathers previously appointed to investigate the possibilities of reopening the Tibet Mission had received money from her for that purpose. We shall see further, letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714, that she lent the money necessary for Desideri and Freyre's expenses on the Tibet journey.

² Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinelli had been at Agra. Desideri may have met him at Damão.

tutte le diligenze che mi saranno moralmente possibili p. condurre a fine quest' intento; e di non arrendermi giamai a tutti gl'ostacoli, che da' Nostri mi fossero posti, eccettuandone il comando de' Superiori.

Posto ciò, rinnovo nelle mani di V.P., e ratifico questo mio voto; e p. sgravio della mia coscienza la prego, la riprego, e la supplico per il Sangue prezioso di Gesù, che si degni con la sua autorità di confermarmi l' avviso di andar' a riaprire la Missione del Thibet, datomi in Goa dal P. Prov. le; e a darmi con tutta la pienezza della sua autorità ordine, che non ostante qualunque impedimento che mi fusse fatto da' Nostri, e non ostante qualunque contrordine, e contravviso che ricevessi da' questi sup. ri e Prov. li locali, con ordine espresso, e immediato di V.P., io ò proseguisca, ò di nuovo intraprenda l'impresa di riaprire la Missione dl Thibet.

Padre N.re io non le dimando ciò *utcumque*, mà gle lo dimando p. scarico, e sgravio dlla mia coscienza, e perchè *attentis omnibus, et diligenter expensis* formo giudizio, che la Comp. a è gravemente obbligata a far tutto il possibile p. riaprire quella Missione, perchè quelli dl Thibet hanno dato a conoscere evidentemente che vogliono la Santa Fede Cattolica; e dall' altra parte si sono

order to pursue that work, and to use every diligence which I shall morally be able to make in order to bring this plan to execution, and never to yield to all the obstacles which Ours may throw in my way, the orders of the Superiors expected.

This settled, I renew in Your Paternity's hands and ratify this my vow; and, for the discharge of my conscience, I beg you, beg you again, and beseech you by the previous blood of Jesus that you deign with your authority to confirm unto me the instruction of going to reopen the Mission of Tibet which was given me at Goa by the Father Provincial, and to give me with all the fulness of your authority the order that, notwithstanding any impediment which might have been caused me by Ours, and notwithstanding any counter-order and counter-instruction which I might receive from these local Superiors and Provincials, I should, under express and immediate order of Your Paternity, either prosecute or undertake anew the enterprise of reopening the Mission of Tibet.

Our Father, I do not ask you this *utcumque* (in any manner whatever), but I ask it you for the relief and discharge of my conscience, and, because *attentis omnibus, et diligenter expensis* (all things considered and carefully weighed), I form the opinion that the Company is under the grave obligation of doing whatever is possible to reopen that Mission: for those of Tibet have given to

chiaram. te dichiarati che vogliono p. loro Maestri non altri, che quelli d. a Comp. a, descrivendo a minuto il vestito, che portano i Nostri in Agra, perchè con tal vestito entrò là in altri tempi il n. ro P. Andrade. Sicchè se a quegli mancher e la Feda, ne sarà rea la Compagnia, in caso che si manchi (il che Dio non p. metta mai) dal canto nostro di fare il possibile.

P. re N. ro io scarico la mia coscienza. (Next page)-za.

Ecce ego, mitte me. Ancorchè mi sia necessario camminar p. le fiamme, e ancorchè mi fosse necessario passar p. tutto l'Inferno a fine di arrivare a dar la notizia di Dio, e d.a Santa Fede Catholica a quelle povere Genti dl Thibet, p. le fiamme camminerò, e p. tutto 'Inferno passeròl' confidato in Dio, purchè la Comp. a non resti punto aggravata, purchè si promova la gloria di Dio, purchè si procuri la salute eterna di quell' anime. *Ecce ego, mitte me;* son pronto ad andar senza verun sussidio, senza viatico, senza cosa veruna; Bastami solo la fiducia nell' assistenza Divina, giacchè

know to evidence that they want the Holy Catholic Faith; and, on the other hand, they have clearly declared that they want for their Teachers no others than those of the Company: describing minutely the dress Ours wear at Agra, because with such dress did our Father Andrade enter there in other times.¹ Therefore, if the Faith will fail them, the Company will be guilty of it, in case we fail (which may God never permit!); on our side to do what is possible.

Our Father, I discharge my conscience. (Next page.)

Ecce ego, mitte me. (Lo, here I am; send me).² Even if I ought to walk through the flames, and even if I ought to pass through the whole of Hell, in order to succeed in giving the knowledge of God and of the Holy Catholic Faith to those poor peoples of Tibet, through the flames shall I walk, and through the whole of Hell shall I pass, confident in God, so that the Company may not remain one whit burdened, so that the glory of God be promoted, so that the eternal salvation of those souls be procured. *Ecce ego, mitte me.* (Lo, here I am; send me). I am ready to go without any

¹ This information is very baffling. It appears to have been obtained at Goa, or at Damão, and before reaching Surat. In his letter from Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, he gives it as doubtful. If it were correct, men from the King of Tsaparang should have come to Surat to ask for Fathers like those who had been there in 1624-40; the information would have led the Capuchins to ask for the Tibet mission-field. In that case the men came to Surat several years before Propaganda assigned Tibet the Capuchins in 1703. How is it that, nevertheless, in 1706, Fr. Francis Borgia Koch was destined to a Mission in Tibet, the King of which had asked for Missionaries?

² Isai. 6. 8.

tengo scolpite nel cuore le parole di V.P. scritte a' Sup. ri di q. ta Prov.a in una sua lettera, nella quale ordinandogli, che trattino di aprir nuove Missioni, e che trattino con maggior impeyno *de reditu ad Thibetum*; e animandoli a non isgomentarsi p.niuna difficoltà apport loro quel belliss. o motivo suggeritole certam.te dal suo cuore tutto pieno di spirito, e di zelo: *Causa Dei est*.

Altro più non aggiungo p. non far torto alla sua fervorosiss.a carità, e zelo. *Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit*; riflettè molto benè S. Agostino, nel considerare, che Marta e Maddalena allorchè. Stava molto infermo Lazaro, solam.te diedero di ciò avviso, a Gesù, che era assente; senza aggiungere preghiere, nè altro. Così io giudicando che basti solo rappresentar ciò che hò gid scritto a V.P. tà sopra.to punto, p. muovere la sua carita, lo zelo suo dlla maggior gloria di Dio, e dlla salute dll' anime; p. questo non aggiungo altre preghiere altre suppliche; *Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit*.

Solam.te posto a' suoi piedi riverentem.te li bacio, e la supplico dlla sua S.a Benedizione, e che si degni impetrarmi

subsidy, without any viaticum, without anything. Enough for me is my confidence in the divine assistance, since I hold engraved in my heart the words of Your Paternity, written to the Superiors of this Province in one of your letters, wherein, ordering them to consider opening new Missions, and to consider with greater earnestness *de reditu ad Thibetum* (returning to Tibet), and encouraging them not to be dismayed by any difficulty, you adduce for them that most beautiful motive, surely suggested to you by your heart all full of spirit and of zeal; *Causa Dei est* (It is God's cause).

I add nothing more, not to wrong your very fervent charity and zeal. *Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit* (To him who loved it was enough to announce), as Saint Augustine very well reflected, when he considered that, when Lazarus was very ill, Martha and Magdalen only sent word thereof to Jesus, who was away, and added no prayers, nor anything else. Thus I, judging that merely to represent what I have already written to Your Paternity suffices in order to move your charity, your zeal for the greater glory of God, and of the salvation of souls, do not therefore add other prayers, other entreaties. *Amanti tantummodo nuntandum fuit* (To him who loved it was enough to announce).

Only, placed at your feet, I reverently kiss them, and I beg you to give me your Holy Blessing, and that you deign

dal S ig.re quello spirito che si conviene p. vivere, e morire da vero Figlio d.a Comp.a, e da uomo Apostolico d.a Comp.a, p. adempire i disegni di Dio che ciò pretese col chiamarmi, e mandarmi p.mezzo di V.P.all 'Indie.

La supplico ancora ad applicar Messe, e far fare Orazioni da' N.ri, particolarmente da Novizj p.il buon' esito di q.ta impresa, e p.la conversione di Thibet. E facendole umilissima riverenza mi raccomando alle sue S.S. e Orazioni, e S.S. Sacrifizj.

Di V.P.

Suratte 30. Xbre 1713.

SOLI.

Ind.mo in X.po Servo,

Ippolito Desiderj.

ask of the Lord that spirit which behoves, to live and die as true Son of the Company and as Apostolic man of the Company, to fulfil the designs of God, who intended *that*, when calling me and sending me through Your Paternity to the Indies.¹

I also beg you to apply Masses, and to get Prayers made by Ours, chiefly by the Novices, for the good success of this enterprise and for the conversion of Tibet. And, making most humble reverence to you, I commend myself to your Holy Prayers and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Paternity's

Suratte, 30th December, 1713.

PRIVATE.

Unworthy Servant in Christ,

Ippolito Desideri.²

5. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J. to Fr. Piccolomini, Italy (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714).

This letter, now translated for the first time into English, is preserved in the Stonyhurst College Library (A.I. 36, 2nd Part, pp. 4, 4to). (Cf. Sommervogel.) It is dated from Agra, Aug. 21, 1714, and is addressed to Fr. Piccolomini, in Italy.³ It recounts Desideri's journey from Surat to Delhi and from Delhi to Agra, his three months' stay at Agra and his forthcoming departure for Tibet. It is the most circumstantial

¹ This is one of the passages showing that Desideri contemplated the Tibet field when leaving for India; it also implies, in the light of Desideri's other statements, that the General destined him for Tibet when sending him to India.

² There is no reference yet in this letter to the Visitor, Fr. Joseph da Sylva, whom, judging from the further letters, Desideri found at Surat on his arrival there. Would not this show that the letter was written at Damão, with the intention of posting it at Surat?

³ Fr. Francis Volumnius Piccolomini: b. at Siena, July 7, 1682; admitted into the Society of Jesus, June 1, 1698; taught grammar, 2 years; rhetoric, 3 years; philosophy, 6 years; moral theology, 2 years; canon law, 6 years; master of novices; Rector of the German College, Rome; died at Rome, Jan. 14, 1740. Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, VI, 700.

account we have thus far of this part of Desideri's travels. It should be compared with his *Notizie isotiroche*, of Desideri's Bk. I, ch. IV: 'Departure from Goa and journey up to the city of Dely, the capital of the Empire of the Mogol. Brief account of that court.' (Cf. Wessels, p. 276.)

We may well pardon Desideri the pathos of his farewell to all his old friends. To have an idea of what such a journey at such a time meant, one must remember the terrible experiences of Fr. Anthony de Andrada in his first expedition to Tibet (1624), and Desideri's own subsequent hardships. He was sent to reopen de Andrada's mission, but he walked to the unknown, not knowing where de Andrada had been.

To understand the good man's emotion on the eve of setting out for Delhi, Kashmir and Ladakh, let us remember that his was a self-imposed mission, one to which for years before coming to India he had felt himself drawn. What had inspired him with the idea, we cannot say. Perhaps, what he had read of de Andrada, either de Andrada's own two printed accounts of his first and second journey to Tsaparang, or the stray literature on the subject as found in the histories of the Generals of the Society. He may also have been impelled by the efforts of the General to reopen the Tibet Mission, which between 1706 and his own departure from Italy in 1712 had led to nothing. To inspire him the more there was the example of the Capuchins sent to Tibet in 1704, who had actually penetrated to Lhasa in 1708.

M. to R.do in X.po P.re,

P.C.

Tanto prima di partir di Goa, quanto prima di partir di Surat, scrissi a V. R. dan-dole nuova di me e del mio arrivo a detti luoghi, adesso vò continuado le notizie di questo 3° tomo ò 4° del mio viaggio; perche di poi, Dio sà quando, è se, le potrò più inviar nuove di me.

Dunque fui necessitato a trattenermi quasi trè Mesi in

Very Reverend Father in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

Before my departure from Goa as well as from Surat, I wrote to Your Reverence, giving you news about me and my arrival at the said places.¹ I now continue the account of the 3rd or 4th tome of my journey:² for God knows when, or whether at all, I shall be able to send you any news of myself hereafter.

So then, I was obliged to stay about three months at

¹ We do not know where these two letters are.

² The first tome may have been in Desideri's mind his story up to his embarking at Lisbon; the second, his voyage to Goa; the third what happened at Goa and up to his writing to Piccolomini from Surat; the fourth would be the present letter.

Surat, a cagione delle guerre, e turbolenze di quest' Imperio del Mogor; e in detto tempo stiedi in casa de' P.P. Cappuccini, che quivi stanno alla cura di quei Cristiani che in Surat si ritrovano. Party finalm.te a' 26 di Marzo, quando già era cominciata la forza del caldo, che in questi luoghi è molto grande, e partij in compagnia d'alcuni altri pochi. Nell' ottavo giorno del viaggio eramo in un certo passo aspettati da un grosso numero di Ladri armati, parte a piedi, e parte a cavallo; m̃a si compiacque il Sig.re di farsi difesa di chi andava posto nelle sue

Surat,¹ because of the wars and disturbances in this Empire of the Mogor.² And, during the said time, I lived in the house of the Capuchin Fathers, who there are in charge of the Christians found at Surat.³ Finally, I left on the 26th of March, when had commenced already the strength of the heats, which in these parts are very great; and I left in the company of some others.⁴ On the eighth day of the journey, at a certain pass,⁵ we were awaited by a large number of armed robbers, some on foot, some on horseback; but it pleased the Lord

¹ He remained at Surat between Jan. 4, 1714, and March 26. 'During the time I was obliged to remain at Surat, I began the study of Persian.' (Letter from Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, cf. Puini, *op. cit.*, p. 361.)

² On the death of Bahādur Shāh (Feb. 18, 1712) there was the usual struggle for the throne and the ensuing massacre of kindred. Jahāndār Shāh succeeded, but was massacred after eleven months. His nephew Farrukhsiyar Shāh, who ascended the throne on Jan. 9, 1713, began his reign by terrible reprisals on the nobles who had opposed his father 'Azim-ush-shān. In 1713-14 there was a violent disturbance at Ahmadābad, between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Ahmadābad lay on Desideri's route to Delhi.

³ On the Capuchins at Surat, see Fr. Felix, O.M.C., *The Capuchin Mission at Surat, in The Franciscan Annals of India*, Agra, 1910, pp. 20-23; 38-41; 86-89; 112-116; 136-137; 176-179. If Fr. Felix expresses there the opinion that in 1713 the house of the Capuchins was occupied by the Carmelites, we find here that it cannot have been so in the beginning of 1714.

⁴ In this letter there is not the slightest allusion to Fr. Desideri's two companions on the journey from Surat to Delhi: Fr. Joseph da Sylva, the Jesuit Visitor of the Mogor Mission, and Fr. Melchior dos Reys, who went to Agra as the new Rector of the College there, which meant that he was virtually the Superior of all the Fathers in the Mogor Mission. 'On the 26th of March, I left with the Fr. Visitor and arrived on May 11 at Delly, where Fr. Freyre's going to Tibet was ratified.' Cf. Puini, *op. cit.*, p. 361. At p. 6, *ibid.*, March 25 is, given as the day of departure from Surat. The word 'ratified' in the passage just quoted, might show that already at Surat there had been question of Fr. Freyre's going with Desideri to Tibet, but it may mean also that the Visitor approved at Delhi of Freyre's spontaneous offer to go with Desideri. Puini (p. 6) can be misunderstood as meaning that Fr. Freyre became Desideri's companion from Surat, whereas he was stationed at Delhi, before Desideri set out from Surat. Fr. Wessels (p. 210) states that at Surat Desideri learned that 'Fr. Manoel Freyre was to be his Superior and travelling companion.'

This does not appear from our letters. Is it stated so in Desideri's *Relazione* as published by Puini or in his *Notizie istoriche*?

⁵ Probably a pass in the Satpura Range.

mani; sicchè non ricevemmo verun danno; anzi varii di quei ladri ci vennero per buono spazio accompagnando. Non così successe ad altri non Christiani, che in quella medesima mattina passarono da quell'istesso luogo, poichè gl'infelici furono costretti a ricevere sopra di se quella tempesta, che per noi era preparata, e lasciarono quivi non solo la robba, mā ancor la vita in preda al furore degli spietati Ladrone.

A 5d' Aprile arrivai a Amadabat Città molto grande, e popolata di circa due milioni d'anime, dove si crede che regnasse il P. di S. Giosafat, e dove conservasi tuttavia una veste, che dicono fosse di S. Barlaam. In detta Città fui ricevuto in Casa degl' Olan-

to defend who went committed to his hands; hence, we received no harm; some of these robbers even came along a good distance, accompanying us. It did not happen so to others, non-Christians, who that very morning passed by the same place: for the poor fellows were forced to face the storm which had been prepared for us, and there they left, not only their belongings, but life itself, the victims of the fury of the cruel robbers.

On the 5th of April I arrived at Amadabāt, a very great City, with a population of about two million souls,¹ where it is believed reigned the Father of Saint Josaphat, and where anyhow is kept a garment which they say belonged to Saint Barlaam.²

¹ Ahmadābad. At p. 6, in Puini, we have: 'Amadabaad, the capital of the Province of Guzarat'. Puini adds that they arrived at Amadabaad in April 1, whereas we have here April 5. The latter date alone is correct, since they were yet in a pass on the 8th day after their departure from Surat; moreover, Desideri adds here that after staying at Amadabaad on April 6, they left it on April 7.

² The principal characters of a legend which was a favourite subject of writers in the Middle Ages. It is a christianized version of one of the legends of Buddha, as even the name Josaphat shows, Josaphat being a corruption of Joasaph, corrupted through the middle Persian Budasif (Budasif = Bodhisattva). A Latin translation of the Greek text was made in the XIIth century and was used for translations into nearly all the European languages. In the East it exists in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Hebrew.

I give here the usual opinion on this matter, but I shall add that I am not fully satisfied. At Ahmadābad the custodians of the tradition enunciated by Desideri may have been the Armenians and the Abyssinians, both of whom had churches there in Tavernier's time. I should think that the story of Barlaam and Josaphat spread to Europe through the Georgians, and that a section of the Georgians (called Gujr in Persian) actually gave their name to the province of Gujarat, and to the Gujrat and Gujranwala of the Punjab. When these Georgians settled in India, had they not already a smattering of Christianity, which they lost subsequently in India? And was not their chief town in Guzarat at Ahmedābad? I expect most readers will deride the passage in Desideri as puerile local tradition, while it may be a very precious survival of ancient Christianity in India. Can the tradition here voiced by Desideri be traced to other authors, earlier or later? So many passed through Ahmedābad, and the English and the Dutch were established there so early, that it

desi, che quivi si ritrovano, e vi stiedi tutto il giorno seguente.

La mattina del 7. partij in compagnia d'una Cafila, che appunto in quel giorno s'imbattè a partir da Amadabât. Cafila chiamano una compagnia di molta gente, rutta, o quasi tutta armata, che si unisce a far viaggio; ed è ciò necessarissimo a cagione dell' incontrarse frequentis simamente grossi squadroni di Soldati, dimoranti per lo più ne' monti, che sono di suo officio Ladroni, de' quali è pieno tutto questo vasto Imperio. La Cafila, con cui partij era composta di due mila persone o più, gran parte dè quali erano Soldati a Cavallo, e gran parte erano soldati a piedi. Così uniti cominciammo la mattina prima di farsi giorno a marciare con buona ordinanza a maniera d'esercito, con tromba, Tamburi, Stendardi, Officiali, Carri di Bagaglio, Cameli, etc. In cotal guisa seguivamo a com-

In this City I was received at the house of the Dutch, who are found there,¹ and there I stayed the next day.

On the morning of the 7th, I left in the company of a Cafila,² which just that day happened to leave from Amadabât. They call Cafila a large body of people, armed all of them, or nearly all of them, who combine to travel together. And this is quite necessary, because one meets very often great troops of soldiers, staying mostly in the mountains, who by profession are robbers, and with whom the whole of this vast Empire swarms. The Cafila with which I started consisted of two thousand persons, or more, a great number of them soldiers on horseback, and a great part foot-soldiers. Thus united, in the morning, before daybreak, we began marching in good order, like an army, with trumpet, drums, standards, officers, baggage-carts, camels, etc. We went along in this style up to a convenient hour,

would be very wonderful if Desideri had been the first to record the Ahmed-âbad tradition.

Even if the christianized legend were borrowed from a tale of the Buddha, the introduction to the Christian version appears to reflect correct Indian history when it states that St. Thomas evangelized India and that India swarmed with Christian monks, monasticism having been brought to it from Egypt.

¹ For the Dutch at Amadabaad, cf. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. IV. *Amadabaad*, Bombay, 1879, pp. 272-3, 285. Valentyn states that the Dutch lodge in 1639 and 1679 was important. After 1679 the number of employees was diminished. In 1711 there was a head merchant (*koopman*) with 5 subalterns, Dutchmen, and some natives. Cf. I. v. Deel, Ilde Stuk, p. 151, col. 1.

It is gratifying to see the hospitality thus extended by the Dutch to the Jesuits. They were not less amicable at Agra, and to the Capuchins passing through Singhia, near Patna. Nor were the English, wherever they were found, less hospitable to our Missionaries.

² *Cafila*. Arab.: *kāfila*: a body or convoy of travellers, a caravan.

My two copyists read *casila*, which I treat as a misreading for *cafila*.

minare fin' ad era competente, ed in fine ci accampavamo in qualche luogo spazioso, e sempre vicino ad alcun lago, fiume, ò fosso, per ristoro della nostra sete. Quivi a campagna aperta passavamo la notte in riposo, mà sempre con sentinelle vigilanti. Il cammino molti giorni fù buono, mà molti giorni ancora fù aspro, e travaglioso; e sempre reso molto grave da un' eccessivo caldo, e specialm.te ogni giorno da un vento infocato, che rendeva penosissimo il viaggiare anche agl' stessi animali. Gl' incontri di pericoli furono varij, mà sempre si superarono col favor divino senza verun danno. Proseguimmo in tal modo fino quasi al fine di Aprile, nel qual tempo la Cafila restò smembrata, e divisa in varie parti, poichè diverso era il termine di ciascuna parte di essa.

Con una di queste parti seguitai io il mio viaggio sino alla Città chiamata Sanganêr. Quivi avendomi conosciuto per Europeo, i Ministri della Città persuadendosi, che sotto abito di Religioso, e di povero, fossi un molto ricco Mercante, mi arrestarono, e esigevano una buona quantità di denaro. Fui quivi costretto a fermarmi due giorni, nel qual tempo quella parte di Cafila, con cui andavo tirò innazi il suo viaggio. In

and finally encamped in some spacious place, and always near some lake, river, or ditch,¹ where to quench our thirst. There, in the open, we spent the night resting, but always with sentries on the watch. For many days the road was good, but many days too it was rough and difficult; and it was rendered very difficult all the time by the excessive heat, and chiefly every day by a hot wind, which made travelling most painful, even for the animals themselves. The dangers we encountered were of various sorts, but with the divine grace we always escaped without harm. We continued in this way up to about the end of April, when the Cafila broke up, and divided off to several parts, the destination of each lying in a different direction.²

With one of these sections I pursued my way up to the City called Sanganêr.³ Here, having recognized me for a European, the officials of the town, persuaded that under the habit of a Religious and a poor man might be hidden a very rich merchant, arrested me and exacted a large amount of money. Here I was obliged to stop two days, during which time that part of the Cafila with which I went proceeded

¹ *Fosso* = 'ditch'. Can it be for *pozzo* = 'well'?

² The caravan broke up probably at Ajmer.

³ Sanganer is 7 m. S.W. of Jaipur; hence *Amir* must not be identified with Ajmer, but with Amber or Amer, *alias* Jaipur. Amber was a few miles further ahead (*piu avanti*). The Amber Rajah then reigning was Jai Singh II Siwae (born *circa* 1683; died 1743). He is known as the great astronomer prince, and at a later date he had at his court several Jesuits, astronomers, mostly Germans.

tanto saputosi nella Città di Amir, posta alcune miglia più avanti, dove risiede il Regolo di quei luoghi, il mio arresto in Sanganer, venne una buona riprensione a' Ministri di quella Città con ordine espresso, che subito subito mi lasciassero andare senza veruna contribuzione per il mio cammino. Così spedito, mà senza la solita compagnia, tirai innanzi, fidato, che il Sig.re, a cui maggior gloria solam. te erano indirizzati tutti i miei passi, mi assisterebbe in tutto, e mi defenderebbe in tutto, come buon Padre; ò almeno, quando si degnasse di disporre altrimenti, mi darebbe forza di tutto sopportar con giubilo di cuore per suo amore. Si compiacque però di guidarmi sicuram.te, e prosperam.te, di modo che agl' undici di Maggio con somma felicità, e con una straordinaris.sima speditezza arrivai sano, e salvo alla gran Città di Delly, capo di quest' imperio, residenza del Re, e abitate da trè milioni, e piu di gente.

Sta quivi all cura di quei trecento più ò meno Cristiani, che quivi si ritrovano un nostro Padre, daun fui accolto, e ricevuto con molta cortesia, e carità. Quivi nella prima notte si degnò il Sig.re di darmi il ristoro, e conforto di tutti

on its journey. Meanwhile, when in the City of Amir, some miles further, where resides the Kinglet of those places, they learned of my arrest at Sanganer, there came a severe reproof for the officials of that City, with express order that at once, they should let me go on my way, without any payment. Thus free, but without the usual company, I pushed forward, trusting that the Lord, to whose greater glory were directed all my steps, would assist me throughout, would defend me throughout, like a good Father, or at least that, if he deigned to dispose otherwise, he would give me strength to bear all with jubilee of heart for love of him.¹ Now, he was pleased to guide me safely and securely, so that with extraordinary speed I arrived safe and sound, on the eleventh of May² at the great City of Delly, the Capital of this Empire, the residence of the King, and inhabited by three million people and more.

There, in charge of three hundred Christians, more or less, lives a Father of Ours,³ by whom I was welcomed and received with much courtesy and charity. There, the first night, the Lord deigned to give me rest and refreshment from

¹ What happened to Fr. Joseph da Sylva and Melchior dos Reys? Were they not dressed like Desideri, suspected of being merchants, arrested, and set free with Desideri? If they were not arrested, they would surely have waited at Sanganer till Desideri was set free. Here is a case for the negative evidence of silence.

² The same date is given at pp. 6 and 361 of Puini, and in Desideri's letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716; also in his letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714. It is evident that Desideri kept a diary.

³ Fr. Manoel Freyre.

gl' incomodi, e patimenti del passato viaggio. Convien sapere, come avendo in goa ottenuto d'andar' a procurar d'aprire una nuova Missione nel Thibet, fui destinato sì, mà solo, e senza verun compagno in un' impresa molto ardua, ed in luoghi tanto remoti, e da' Nostri, e da qualunque Cristiano. Avevo scritto al p. Provinciale a Goa, che si degnasse mandarmi almeno un Padre per compagno, affinché quando si compiacesse S.D.M. di farmi trovar' alcuna Messe, avessi chi m'aiutasse, ò quando volesse di me disporre altrimenti ò nelviaggio, ò nel termine, avessi la compagnia, e l' aiuto d'alcun nostro Religioso. M'aveva promesso il P. Provinciale di mandarmi un Padre, e di soddisfare al mio desiderio, mà però non poteva quello da Goa arrivar' a queste parti, se non doppo un' anno, nel qual tempo m'era necessario star' in queste parti aspettando il di lui arrivo. Mà però in quella prima notte di Delly parlando con quel Padre, che quivi trovato avevo, e manifestandoli il mio intento d' andar a procurar d'aprir una nuova Missionedl Thibet, mi s'offerseper venir'egli in mia compagnia, ed io riconoscendo ciò come dono della mano pietosa di Dio, restai molto consolato, e soddisfatto. Mà perchè non potevano così subito partire.

all the discomforts and sufferings of my past journey. You must know that, having obtained leave at Goa to go and try to reopen a new Mission in Tibet, I was sent indeed, but alone, and without any companion, on a very arduous enterprise, and to places, so remote both from Ours and from any Christian. I had written to the Father Provincial at Goa, asking him kindly to send me at least one Father for a companion, so that, should His Divine Majesty be pleased to make me find some harvest, I might have who would assist me, or, should he wish to dispose of me otherwise, either on the journey or at the goal, I might have the company and help of one of our Religious. The Father Provincial had promised to send me a Father and to gratify my desire, but he could not come from Goa to these parts till after a year, and meanwhile I had to stay in these parts and await his arrival. But, now, that first night at Delly, as I was speaking to the Father whom I had found there, and I made known to him my project of going and trying to open a new Mission, that of Tibet, he offered to come with me, and I, seeing in this a gift from the merciful hand of God, was much consoled and satisfied.¹ But we could not start

¹ Desideri must have written to the Provincial before his departure from Surat, and must even have received the answer before that departure on March 26, 1714. How then can it be said that Fr. Freyre was appointed Fr. Desideri's companion by the Visitor Fr. Joseph da Sylva, while the Visitor and Desideri were still at Surat? (Cf. Puini, 6; Wessels, 210.) Desideri's interview with Fr. Freyre the first night they were together at Delhi precludes the theory.

si a cagione del doversi trovar' alcun Padre, che restasse alla cura de' Cristiani di Delly, si a cagione dell' esser già vicine a cominciar le pioggie, le quali in questi loughi ne' presenti Mesi sono dirottissime, e continue; perciò doppio essere stato dieci giorni in Delly, partij per Agra, indi distante sette giornate.

Arrivato in Agra, per buona sorte contro l'ordinario costume, trovai quivi due Patri, e subito un d'essi, che era destinato per andar a trovar alcun riposo delle sue fatiche a Goa, s'offerse d'andar' egli alla cura de' Cristiani di Delly, perchè 'l altro Padre potesse meco venire per la Missione di Thibet. Così stabilite le cose, sopravenendo il

so quickly, both because some Father had to be found to remain in charge of the Christians of Delly, and because the rains were already about to begin, which in these places during the present months are very excessive and continual; therefore, after a ten days' stay at Delly, I went to Agra, a distance of seven days thence.

Having arrived at Agra, I found there by good luck, against the usual order of things, two Fathers,¹ and presently one of them, who was destined to go to Goa there to find some rest from his fatigues, offered to go and take charge of the Christians of Delly, so that the other Father might come with me to Tibet. Matters thus settled, the time

¹ The two Fathers at Agra were probably the new Rector, Fr. Melchior dos Reys, and the outgoing Rector. The Catalogues for the Mogor Mission show for January 2, 1710, Fr. Emmanuel Durão as Vice-Rector at Agra. We have no catalogues till December 1716. (Cf. *JASB.*, 1910, p. 536.) The personnel of the Mogor Mission in 1714 seems to have been: Fr. Joseph da Sylva, the Visitor; Fr. Melchior dos Reys, Rector, about May 28, at Agra; the outgoing Rector or Vice-Rector at Agra, Fr. Manoel Durão, who would have taken Fr. Freyre's place at Delhi, when he (Freyre) and Desideri left for Lahore on Sept. 23, 1714. In fact, the catalogue of December 1716 shows Fr. Manoel Durão at Delhi, also the Catalogue of Dec. 1718 and of Nov. 1719. In 1713 the Father at Delhi was Manoel Freyre. As there was no missionary at Lahore, the above list appears to be complete for 1713, with the addition of Desideri.

Neither Freire nor Durão are in A. Franco's list, which may mean that they were born in India, or were admitted in India. The same list shows that Fr. Joseph da Sylva, a Portuguese and not yet a priest, came out *via* Lisbon in 1673, and that Fr. Melchior dos Reys, a Portuguese and not yet a priest, came out in 1699 *via* Lisbon.

'Manoel Freyre was born at Ancião in Portugal in 1679 and entered the Society at Goa, October 7, 1694. In 1710 we find him engaged in the Agra Mission, to which he returned after his Lhasa journey. After 1719 his name disappears from the yearly lists. There can be no doubt that he left the Society, for in a letter to the General written from Goa, Dec. 10, 1724, he petitions for re-admission. The reply is not known, but the catalogue of 1728 has a note appended, to the effect that the name of Manuel Freyre has not been entered, because he will not be able to present himself till after a month. Nothing seems to have come of the affair, for his name is not seen either in the catalogues of later years or in the *Catalogus defunctorum*.' Cf. Wessels, 222 n. 2.

tempo delle piogge, e non potendo io partire, mi applicai allo studio della lingua Persiana, la quale per il restante del viaggio, che mi rimane, e per entrar nel Thibet m'è necessaria, e di cui avevo preso i prim principij in Surat. Non posso a bastanza spiegar' a V.R., che fatica, e che travaglio seco porti lo studio d'una tal lingua, la quale contiene molta difficoltà, specialmente per la pronunzia per chi non è tuttavia Bambino. Ma sia pur sempre ed in tutto lodato, e benedetto il Signore, per cui amore se altro non potrò fare in questo tempo. almeno goderò di potergli ogni giorno offerire questo piccolo sacrificio di questo travaglio, che pur si rende dolce, per star l'occhio posto di mira nel di lui prezioso amore, e nel desiderio della conversione delle anime redente col sangue di Gesù, che sono i due condimenti, che rendono agevole tutto l'aspro, e fanno dolce tutto l'amaro.

Ma non è questo il tormento maggiore, poichè la pena più sensibile è il veder avanti agl'occhi di continuo tanta ruina d'anime preziose, e tante, e tanto grandi offese, che si fanno contro l'Infinito Bene, e non poter nè pur dar un passo per ovviare, a sì lacrimevole sconcerto. E questo un continuo, e tormentosissimo eculeo; imperocchè siccome in quello l'atrocità consiste nell'

of the rains coming on, I, being unable to start, applied myself to the study of the Persian language, which I need for the rest of my remaining journey and to enter Tibet, and the first beginnings of which I had learned at Surat.¹ I cannot sufficiently explain to Your Reverence what fatigue and what trouble the study of such a language entails; it offers many difficulties, especially for the pronunciation, for one who is no longer a babe. But, praised and blessed for ever and in all things be the Lord, for whose sake if I can do nothing else at this time, I shall at least have the satisfaction of being able to offer him daily the small sacrifice of this labour, which becomes even sweet when the eye is fixed on his precious love and on the desire of the conversion of the souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus, the two seasonings which make easy whatever is hard, and turn to sweet whatever is bitter.

However, that is not my chief torment: for keener is the pain I feel when I behold continually before my eyes the ruin of so many precious souls, and so many, and such grievous offences committed against the Infinite Goodness, and when I see I cannot make even one step to prevent such lamentable disorder. This is like a rack continually torturing me most cruelly: for, as the atro-

¹ Persian must have been of use to Desideri wherever Muhammadans or Armenians were found. He found both at Lhasa. He says, however, in his Relation (Puini, 82) that a knowledge of 'Hendustanic' was necessary as a preparation for the study of Tibetan.

essere il corpo, nel tempo medesimo, in cui con funi violente è stirato fortemente per una banda, con altrettanto violente funi stirato per la parte totalm.te opposta; con che di due moti totalm.te opposti si compone una dolorosa carnificina; Così in me appunto sperimento dentro dl cuore. Sî compiace S.D.M. *in vinculis charitatis* con dolce amorosa violenza di tirarmi con tutto il cuore là dove è grande la perdita dell'anime e più oltraggiata è la di lui amabiliss.a bontà; e nel tempo medesimo con durissimi legami misono stretti, e stirati. in altra parte i piedi, senz' altro poter fare se non mandar sole e scompagnate le potenze dll'animo, dove non può il corpo far loro compagnia. Mā ben presto ritornano elle a me sconsolate; come cani che scoperta la preda bramata, non potendola essi afferrare tornano al Cacciatore, e lo stimolano ad andar' egli più avanti a trafiggerla con le sue armi.

Mā sia in tutto fatta la Divina volontà dell' amabilissimo Padre, e Signor nostro, il quale con queste dimore giustam.te mi gastiga, e mi dà la pena, che ben merito per aver tardato tanto tempo, e tuttavia tardar' a ritirarmi dalle creature, e da me stesso, a tutto darmi a lui, e perciò giustiaam.te mi punisce col permetter, che non possa io adesso come pur vorrei, tirar fuori dalle fauci dell' Inferno le

city of the rack consists in that the body, at the very time it is being violently drawn with strong ropes to one side, is at the same time and with ropes equally violent drawn in exactly opposite direction, the two totally opposite strains causing a cruel torment, just so do I feel in my heart. It pleases His Divine Majesty to draw my whole heart away *in vinculis charitatis* (with the bands of love)¹ and with sweet and amorous violence to where is great the perdition of souls, and where his most amiable goodness is outraged more; and at the same time with fastest bonds are my feet bound and drawn elsewhere, while I can do nothing else than send, alone and unaccompanied, the powers of the spirit to where my body cannot follow. But soon enough they return to me disconsolate, like dogs, who, when they have discovered the longed-for prey and are unable to seize it themselves, turn to the hunter, and press him to come along and to pierce it with his weapons.

But, let the Divine will of our most amiable Father and Lord be done in all things, who punishes me justly with these delays and chastises me deservedly for having tarried so long, and for tarrying still, to sever myself from creatures and from myself, and to give myself to him wholly. For this does he justly punish me by allowing that I should not now, as I would, be able to snatch souls from the jaws of

¹ Osee. 11. 4.

anime per darle a lui, e per riportarle come in luogo di sicurezza nel Cuore amorosissimo del Crocifisso gesù. Frà tutto questo però mi consolo col ricorso al potentissimo patrocinio della Santissima Vergine, e de' SS. i miei Avvocati, col patrocinio di quali spero in fine di placare il misericordioso Signore, e dopo le lacrime spero di poter *cum exultatione*, scorrere liberamente là dove mi chiama *Dominus messis*, e di poter consolarmi *potrans manipulos* a piè della Croce del mio Signore. E tale speranza va sempre in me aumentandosi per conoscer' io sensibilissimamente e quasi toccar con le mani di continuo, che S.D. M. stà impegnata in favorire, e promuovere questa mia impresa, mentre incontro aiuti dove meno li potevo aspettare, e veggio con facilità sparire gl' ostacoli tutti, che in mezzo all' opera si frappongono. Faccia il Demonio, e l' Inferno tutto quanto vuole, ponga in contrario tutte le sue forze; non per questo mi atterrisce, perchè *Scio cui credidi*. Sò di certo, che la causa è di Dio, e son consapevole a me, che non ostante l'esser' io in tutto pieno di peccati, e d'ingratitudine alle divine misericordie, nondimeno con l' aiuto di Sign.re l'intenzione è retta; e perciò non posso dubitar punto, che Dio sarà sempre con me; e *si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?* Sono risolutissimo con la divina grazia ò di morir in mezzo all' opera, ò di condurre

Hell, and give them to him, and place them as in a place of safety within the most loving Heart of my Crucified Jesus. Withal, I console myself throughout by having recourse to the most powerful patronage of the Most Blessed Virgin, and of the Saints, my advocates, with whose protection I hope in the end to appease the Lord of Mercy, and to obtain that after my tears I may be able *cum exultatione* (with joyfulness) hasten freely where *Dominus messis* (the Lord of the harvest) calls me, and may console myself *portans manipulos* (carrying my sheaves)¹ to the feet of my Lord's Cross. And that hope is always growing stronger in me, because I know most sensibly, and so to say touch with my hands continually, that His Divine Majesty is bound to favour and speed this my enterprise, since I meet with help where I could least expect it, and see vanishing with ease all the obstacles standing in the way of the undertaking. Let the Devil, let Hell, do whatever they please; let them put forth all their strength in opposition; I am not frightened thereby; for *scio cui credidi* (I know whom I have believed).² I know for certain that it is God's cause, and I am conscious that, though I am wholly steeped in sins and ingratitude to the divine mercies, yet with the help of the Lord the intention is right; hence I cannot

¹ Matth. 9. 38; Luke, 10. 2.

² 2 Tim. 1. 12.

a fine questa impresa, che so di certo che Dio vuol da me.

E perchè chi si pone ad una grand' impresa è necessario, che ò tenga buon capitale, ò che almeno riceva da altri qualche grosso sussidio; perciò trovandomi io senza nè pur tenue capital di virtù, di spirito, e di fervore, affinchè non sia temeraria questa mia impresa ricorro ad altri, e specialmente a V.R., a cui è ben nota la mia grandissima miseria, affine di ricevere dalla sua, e altrui carità qualche opportuno sussidio. Padre mio amatissimo *sum pauper, miser, et miserabilis* assai assai piu di quello, che si passa immaginare, sono senza punto di vigor vitale di spirito, sono pieno di piaghe, sono aggravato dalla soma de' miei moltissimi peccati, sono molto maltrattato dall' amor proprio, e dalle febbri quotidiane della mie verissime, e immortificate passioni, in somma sono sì fiacco, sì debole, che appena appena stò in piedi, e se mi reggo in piedi è perchè il misericordiosissimo Sig.re spinto dal suo svisceratissimo amore, in vece di abbandonarmi, come di continuo; meriterei per le mie insopportabili ingratitudini, *facit potentiam in brachio suo,*

for a moment doubt but that God will always be with me; and *si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?* (If God be with us, who is against us?)¹ I am quite resolved with the divine grace either to die in the midst of the labour, or to carry through this enterprise, which I know for sure God wants of me.

And, because he who turns his hand to a great undertaking must either have a large capital of his own, or at least receive from others some large subsidy, hence, finding myself without even the smallest store of virtue, of spirit, and of fervour, that my enterprise may not prove rash, I turn to others, and chiefly to Your Reverence who well know my very great misery, hoping to receive from your charity and that of others some timely succour. My very dear Father, *sum pauper, miser, et miserabilis* (I am poor, wretched, and miserable),² much, much more than can be imagined; I have not a title of vital vigour of spirit; I am full of wounds; I am burdened with the weight of my very many sins; I am buffeted by self-love, and by the daily fevers of my very true and immortalized passions; in fine, I am so weak, so feeble that hardly, hardly, do I stand on my feet; and, if I do stand on my feet, it is because the most merciful Lord, prompted by his passionate love, instead of forsaking me, as I should deserve continually for my unbearable ingratitude, *facit*

¹ Rom. 8. 31.

² Apoc., 3. 17.

e mi v'è pietosamente sostenendo perchè non cada, degnandosi di esaltar in me la sua misericordia e non i meriti rigori della sua infinita Giustizia, Or se, anche un Religioso di malto spirito, di soda virtù, e di sperimentato fervore, dovendosi porre in mezzo di persone del mondo, con tutto che siano Cristiani, e timorati di Dio; con tutto ciò ha grandissima necessità d'essere molto, e molto aiutato dalle Orazioni di anime buone, e amiche di Dio; argomenti qual sia l'estrema necessità di me miserabilissimo peccatore, che v'è a pormi (perchè Dio così vuole da me) in paese totalmente Infedeli, tra gente tutta nemica di Dio, e con uno spaventevole prospecto di tutte le maggiori iniquità di continuo avanti agli occhi.

Padre mio amatissimo, posto a suoi piedi, e con le lacrime agli occhi la prego per quanto amore porta all'amabilissimo Dio, per quanto zelo ha della sua divina gloria, per il Sangue di Gesù con cui fu redenta la poverella mia anima, la prego e la supplico con tutto il cuore non si acordi mai mai mai di me in ogni sua Orazione, che da qui innanzi farà, ed in ogni suo S.S. Sacrificio. Preghi, e preghi con gran fervore, con gran premura per me, e specialmente offerisca spesso per me all'Eterno Padre il Sangue preziosissimo di Gesù.

Nè solo questo, mà con santo zelo, procuri d'indurre molti

potentiam in brachio suo (sheweth might in his arm)¹ and compassionately keeps sustaining me lest I fall, deigning to exalt in me his mercy rather than the deserved rigours of his infinite Justice. Now, if even a Religious of much spirit, of solid virtue, and tried fervour, when he has to venture among people of the world, Christians though they be and God-fearing, is yet in very great need of being much, much helped by the prayers of good and God-loving souls, judge how extreme is the need of me, most miserable sinner, who go to place myself (God willing it so of me) in countries wholly infidel, among people wholly unfriendly to God, and with the fearful prospect of having continually before my eyes all the worst iniquities.

My very dear Father, I cast myself at your feet, and with the tears in my eyes I beg of you, by all the love you bear to the most amiable God, by all the zeal you have for his divine glory, by the Blood of Jesus with which was redeemed my poor little soul, I beg and beseech you with all my heart never, never, never to forget me in each of your prayers, which henceforth you will make, and in each of your Holy Sacrifices. Pray, and pray with great fervour, with great earnestness, for me, and especially offer for me often to the Eternal Father the most precious Blood of Jesus.

Not only that; but with holy zeal try to induce many,

¹ Luke 1. 51.

moltiss.mi, specialmente persone Religiose a pregar di continuo per me, rappresentando loro le grandi miserie della mia anima per muoverle a compassione, e per far che preghino per me. Nè solam.te preghi, e faccia pregare per me, ma ancora faccia questa grand' opera di carità verso tanti poverelli ciechi quanti sono gl' Infedeli, e specialmente riponga spesso nelle piaghe dolcissime di Gesù in poverelli ciechi di tutto il Thibet, e offerisca per essi spesso a S.D. M. il Sangue salutare del nostro comun Redentore.

Padre mio, questo sarà una buona occupazione, e di molto frutto, se le sue orazioni, SS. Sacri, e buone opere, le quali sono accette a S.D.M., per essere d'un' anima che con fervore l'ama, a che sempre maggiorm.te procura di piacer-gli, le applicherà tutte ad un fine sì buono, sì salutare, e di tanta gloria di Dio.

V. R. sà molto bene quanto fuoco di zelo ardentissimo della divina gloria, e della salute dell' anime ardesse ne' curio di S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, e di S. Teresa amantissime di Dio; mà perchè non era loro permesso l'uscir fuori a salvar' anime con la predicazione, stavano nel loro ritiro di continuo occupate principalm.te in questo santo esercizio di pregare Dio e per la conversione dell' anime, e per quelli Operarij Apostolici che s'impiegavano nella conversione dell' anime; in modo tale, che in leggendo le loro vite pare, che Dio principalmente le avesse poste al Mondo, per aiutare e l' anime,

very many, chiefly Religious persons, to pray for me continually, representing to them the great miseries of my soul to move them to compassion, and to make them pray for me. Not only pray and make others pray for me, but do render this great work for charity also for such wretchedly benighted souls as are those of the Infidels; especially do often lock up in the most sweet wounds of Jesus the poor blind ones of the whole of Tibet, and do often offer for them to His Divine Majesty the life-giving Blood of our common Redeemer.

Father mine, it will be a great occupation, one of much fruit, if you apply to a purpose so good, so salutary, and of such glory to God, all your prayers, Holy Sacrifices, and good works, which are acceptable to His Divine Majesty, coming from a soul that fervently loves God and always increasingly tries to please him.

Your Reverence knows very well what a fire of most ardent zeal for the divine glory and the salvation of souls burned in the hearts of Saint Mary Magdalen of Pazzi and of Saint Theresa, those great lovers of God; but, as it was not given them to sally forth to save souls by preaching, their continual occupation in their solitude was chiefly the holy exercise of praying to God, both for the conversion of souls, and for the Apostolic Missionaries employed in the conversion of souls: so much so that, when we read their lives, it seems that God had placed them in the world

e quelli che con la predicazione attendevano alla salute dell' anime, per mezzo delle loro ferventissime orazioni. E quante, e quante anime vedremo noi nel giorno del giudizio far beata compagnia a queste Sante, e ad esse doppio Dio attriluir la loro eterna salute? Così dunque faccia V.R.; prendasi a petto il coltivare con le sue Orazioni, con frequenti Sacrifizj, con le sue ferventi e sante opere, e con le sue lacrime tutto il Thibet. Alzi V.R. costà di lontano le sue mani di continuo, perchè chi è destinato a combatter quì da vicino contra l'Inferno, avvalorato, ed assistito dal divino favore prevalga, e tiri via dalle zanne dello spietato nemico quell' anime, sopra le quali pare, che voglia già il pietoso Signore fissare uno sguardo benigno affine di salvarle. Tanto spero che farà V.R. con gran premura, e fervore, e che farà far' altresì da altri; e con tal sicurezza resterò molto consolato, e animato, e imitando l'esempio dl gloriosissimo Apostolo, dell' Indie, S. Francesco Xaverio ancor io, ne'bisogni principalm.te, offerirò a S.D.M. le Orazioni di V.R., e dell' altre anime ferventi, e caritive, affinché da esse placato, da esse mosso, usi misericordia e con l'anima mia miserabilissima, e con quella gente, che a lui desidero col suo favore condurre, perchè sia egli come merita, da tutti conosciuto, da tutti amato e acciocchè se non possono tutte impedirsi, almeno in gran parte si diminuiscano le offese, che contro la sua infinita amabilis-

chiefly in order that by their most fervent prayers they might help the souls and those who by preaching labour for the salvation of souls. And how many, how many souls shall we on the day of judgment see making blessed company to these Saints and attributing to them under God their eternal salvation: Let then Your Reverence do likewise; take to heart to cultivate by your prayers, by frequent Sacrifices, by your fervent and holy works, and by your tears the whole of Tibet. Over there, from afar, let Your Reverence raise your hands continually, that he who is destined to fight here at close quarters the powers of Hell may, stenghtened and assisted by the divine favour, prevail and snatch from the jaws of their cruel enemy those souls on whom it seems that the merciful Lord is now willing for their salvation to cast a look of pity. This much do I hope Your Reverence will do with great earnestness and fervour, and I hope that you will make others do the same. With this assurance I shall remain much consoled and encouraged, and, imitating the example of the very glorious Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, I too, chiefly in times of need, shall offer up to His Divine Majesty the prayers of Your Reverence and of other fervent and charitable souls, so that, appeased by them, moved by them, he may have pity both on my most miserable soul, and on that people whom with his favour

sima bontà dagl' Uomini
ingrati si comettono.

Mà ritornanda alla mia narrazione cominciata, dalla quale mi distolse quel vivo sentimento, che di continuo stà altam.te impresso nel mio cuore; dico, come doppo d'es sere stato quasi trè Mesi nel Coll.o nostro di Agra, a causa delle pioggie, e nel tempo medesimo a causa dlla lingua, che mi conveniva studiare, finalmente ricevei Patente in data de' 15 d' Agosto per andar' alla Missione del Thibet, e proseguir' il restante del viaggio, conforme al mio desiderio, e continuam, te replicate istanze. Il di 17. di medesimo Mese d'Agosto ricevei littera del P. Manoel Freyre, che come dissi stava in Delly, e mi s'era offerto per venir' alla Missione del Thibet, in cui m'avvisava, esser' egli già disposto a venir in qualunque tempo io arrivassi a Delly. Ricevuta tal carta di notte tempo, desidera-

I wish to lead to him, that he may, as he deserves, be known by all. loved by all, and that, if the offences committed against his infinite and most amiable goodness by ungrateful men cannot be prevented all, they may at least be greatly diminished.

But, to return to the narrative which I had begun and which the lively feeling always deeply impressed on my heart diverted me from, I say that, having been about three months in our College of Agra, on account of the rains, and at the same time on account of the language which I had to study, I finally received a Patent, dated (?) the 15th of August, and allowing me to go to the Mission of Tibet, and to continue the remainder of the journey, conformably with my wish and my requests continually repeated. On the 17th day of the same month of August, I received from Fr. Manoel Freyre, who, as I said, was at Delly, and had offered himself to come to the Mission of Tibet, a letter in which he informed me that he was now ready to come any time I should arrive at Delly.¹

¹ The letters-patent came from the Visitor, who seems to have been at Delhi on Aug. 15, the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady. It is not clear to me whether the letters-patent were dated the 15th of August, or whether Desideri received the letters-patent on the 15th of August. On Aug. 17 he received a letter from Freyre, saying that he (Freyre) was ready to start any time Desideri was ready. Now from Delhi, where Freyre was, to Agra there was a seven days' journey. Freyre would hardly have written as he did, unless the Visitor had notified to him several days before Aug. 15, that he and Desideri could now proceed to Tibet. Nor would Desideri have started for Delhi on Aug. 18, as he intended, unless he had received the letters-patent, which, if dated Aug. 15, could hardly have reached him on Aug. 17, except by the swiftest runners.

vo nel giorno seguente partire, mà non potei per non esser' ancora finite alcune cose de' sacri arredi per dir Messa, che facevo fare, e i Vasetti per gl'Olij Santi; con che mi convenne aspettare alcuni pochi giorni, cioè sino al di 22. d' Agosto, che è dimani, Ottava dlla gloriossiss.a Assunzione della Santissima Vergine.

Dimani dunque partirò d'Agra, e forse forse questa sera sul tardi per portarmi a Delly, ch'è di quà sette giornate distante, e arrivato là, doppo pochi giorni partirò per il Thibet, giacchè adesso le piogge cominciano ad esser minori, non ostante che le strade siano molto caltive. Di Delly in quindici, o 20 giorni spero di pormi in Lahor Città molta grande dl Mogor, dove stanno alcuni cinque, o 6 Cristiani. Quivi si fermeremo alcuni giorni per amministrare i SS. i Sacramenti e consolare *in Domino*, questi pochi Cristiani; di poi procureremo subito di passar' avanti a Cascimîr, se pure le Nevi, che in quelle grandi Montagne sono altissime, ce lo permetteranno, di modo che possiamo esser in Cascimîr prima d'Ogni Santi; Indi in Cascimîr è necessario aspettare la congiuntura d'alcuna di quelle Cafîle, che sopra hò detto che cosa siano, e con non molto lungo, mà pur trava-

Having received his letter at night, I wished to leave the next day; but I could not, as certain things of the sacred furniture for saying Mass, which I was getting made, and the little vessels for the Holy Oils, were not yet finished. Accordingly, I had to wait a few days longer, that is till the 22nd August, which is to-morrow, the Octave of the glorious Assumption of the Most Blessed Virgin.

So then to-morrow, and perhaps, perhaps late to-night, I shall leave Agra and go to Delly, a seven days' journey from here. Arrived there, I shall, few days after, leave for Tibet, since the rains now begin to abate, though the roads are very bad. From Delly, in fifteen or 20 days I hope to arrive at Lahor, a very great City of the Mogor, where live some five or six Christians. There we shall stop some days to administer the Holy Sacraments and console *in Domino* (in the Lord) these few Christians. After that, we shall try to push on at once towards Cascimîr, provided the snows which lie very deep on those great Mountains allow us, in such a way as to be in Cascimîr¹ before all Saints' Day.² In Cascimîr it is necessary to wait till one of those Cafilas—I explained above what they are—chances to form. From Cascimîr, after a not very long, but very difficult journey, one

¹ They left Delhi on Sept. 23, arrived at Lahore on Oct. 9, set out again on Oct. 19, and arrived at 'the very great and delicious city of Cascimîr' (Srinagar, Kashmir) on Nov. 13. Cf. Puini, p. 6.

² Nov. 1.

gioso viaggio da Cascimîr s'entra nel Thibet piccolo. Da questo Thibet piccolo, ò minore, credo che con viaggio un pò lunghetto, e di molti scabrosi monti passeremo al Thibet grande, ò maggiore, dove pare che si possa sperare maggior Messe. Questo è quel che l'Uomo propone, non per altro che per il motivo della gloria Divina, e per ovviare a tanta, e sì lacrimevole strage di tante anime, redente col preziosissimo Sangue dll' amore, sissimo, e amabilissimo Gesù.

Adesso tocca a Dio, *in cujus manu sortes meae sunt*, al disporre secondo il suo sapientissimo, e rettilissimo beneplacito, fuora del quale niuna cosa desidero per santissima che parer possa a' nostri occhi. Certo è, che la speranza, che hò nel Divino favore, che sia per condurre il tutto a buon' esito, e per dispor tutto a salvazione di quelle povere genti, è grande, ed è molto grande; e in vigor di questa son risolutissimo di non tralasciar diligenza veruna che possa intraprendersi per condurre a fine una tal' opera, a costo di qualsivoglia, fatica, di qualsivoglia patimento, e anche del mio sangue, e della mia Vita. Mà che varrano le mie forze tutte, se non vengano rinvigorite, e sostenute dalle altrui Orazioni apprese so l'Altissimo, da cui viene, e hà da venir' ogni bene, e senza di cui *in vanum laboraverunt* chiunque si pone a voler formar' una nuova fabbrica, come adesso io intraprendo.

enters Little Tibet. From this Little, or Lesser, Tibet, I think that after a pretty long journey, across many rugged mountains, we shall pass into Great, or Greater, Tibet, where it seems a better harvest can be expected. This is what man proposes, with no other motive than that of the divine glory, and to prevent so great and so lamentable a ruin of so many souls redeemed by the most precious Blood of the most loving and most amiable Jesus.

It now belongs to God, *in cujus manu sortes meae sunt* (in whose hands are my lots),¹ to dispose of me after his most wise and most just good-pleasure, outside of which I desire nothing, appear it ever so holy in our eyes. Certain it is that the hope I place in the divine favour, that he will bring it all to a happy issue and will ordain it all for the salvation of these poor peoples, is great, and is very great; and on the strength of this confidence I am firmly resolved not to omit any diligence that can be tried to bring about the success of such a work, at the cost of any fatigue soever, of any suffering soever, and even of my blood and of my life. But what will all my strength avail, if it is not invigorated and sustained by the prayers of others before the Most High, from whom comes and must come every good thing, and without whom *in vanum laboraverunt* (he labourereth in vain)² who wants

¹ Ps. 30. 16.

² Ps. 126. 1.

Per tanto posto humilme.te a' suoi piedi torno a pregarla, e supplicarla per il Sangue amabiliss.o e piaghe dolcissime di Gesù, che offerisca a S.D.M. molte Orazioni, opere buone, e SS. Sacrifizj per il buon' esito di quest' impresa, e per la Conversione di quelle Genti; e con il medesimo fervore, e instanze la supplico a procurar' efficacem.te, che in tutta codesta Provincia, da tutti i Nostri, anche da tutti i Novizj si faccia il medesimo con gran fervore, e perseveranza. La fò in questo particolare in cotesta Provincia Procuratore della Missione del Thibet; le incarico questo peso, e se eserciterà bene un tal officio sappia certo che acquisterà presso S.D.M. un grandiss.o merito farà al medesimo uno cosa gratissima, e sarà nel giorno dl giudizio riconosciuto per Apostolo fruttuosissimo dl Thibet.

Del resto P. Piccolomini mio cariss.mo addio, la riu.o con tutto l'affetto, e la supplico a pregar di continuo per me. Mille saluti cordialissimi al P. Gio: Batt.a Conti, al P. Cotti, al P. Guarini. Al P. Turano, al P. Merlini, al P.

to raise a new fabric like the one I now undertake.

Therefore, humbly and reverently kneeling at your feet, I again beg and beseech you by the Blood and the wounds of our most lovable and sweet Jesus, to offer to His Divine Majesty many prayers, good works and Holy Sacrifices for the happy issue of this enterprise, and for the conversion of these peoples, and with the same fervour and earnestness I beseech you to try efficaciously that, in the whole of your Province, the same be done with great fervour and perseverance by all Ours, also by all the Novices. In this particular I establish you in your Province the Procurator of the Tibet Mission; I lay this burden on you; and, if you discharge faithfully the office, know for certain that you will acquire very great merit before His Divine Majesty, will do what is most pleasing to him, and will on the day of judgment be acknowledged as most successful Missionary of Tibet.

And now, my very dear Father Piccolomini, good-bye. I salute you with all love and beseech you to pray for me continually. A thousand heartfelt greetings to Fr. Giovanni Battista Conti,¹ to Fr. Cotti, to Fr. Guarini,² to Fr.

¹ Fr. John Baptist Conti: b. at Ascoli, July 22, 1648; entered the novitiate at Rome, Oct. 11, 1668; taught philosophy at Siena and Rome, where he occupied during 34 years the chair of the higher sciences; was prefect of studies, and a member of several Congregations; d. at Rome, April 20, 1723. Cf. C. Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, II. 1388.

² Fr. Ignatius Guarini: b. at Lecce, July 30, 1676; admitted, Febr. 19, 1693; professor of humaniora, philosophy, and mathematics; 18 years a lecturer in polemical theology at Rome; sent to Germany in 1739; d. at Dresden, Apr. 28, 1748. Cf. *ibid.*, III. 1899.

Corsoni, al P. Turano, al P. Crivelli, al P. Isola; in somma a tutti, poichè tutti affettuosissimamente abbraccio, e a tutti con tutto il cuore mi raccomandi Il Signore si degni per sua misericordia di riempire V.R., e tutti gl' altri del suo santo Amore, d'un grande e costante fervore nel suo santo servizio, e nel zelo della salute dell' anime, e d'ogni consolazione, finchè ci dia grazia di rivederci nel Santo Paradiso. Vale, vale, vale.

Turano,¹ to Fr. Merlini,² to Fr. Corsoni,³ to Fr. Turano,⁴ to Fr. Crivelli, to Fr. Isola,⁵ to all in fine: for I embrace all most affectionately, and with all my heart commend myself to all. May the Lord in his mercy deign to fill Your Reverence and all the others with his holy Love, with great and constant fervour in his holy service and in zeal for the salvation of souls, and with every consolation, so that he give us the grace of meeting one another again in his holy Paradise. Farewell, farewell, farewell.

Di. V.R.

Agra 21. Agosto 1714.

Div. ma e Ind. mo in X. po
Servo,

Ippolito Desideri.

Your Reverence's

Agra, 21st August 1714.

Most devoted and most unworthy Servant in Christ,

Ippolito Desideri.

6. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus, Rome (Delhi, 20 Sept., 1714).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist.* 1569-1742 (*Goa.* 9).)

M.to R.do in X.po P.re N.ro.,
P.C. CCCXI.

Our Very Reverend Father
in Christ,
The Peace of Christ.

Non posso, nè devo privare
V.P. d'una consolazione, la

I may not, and I must not,
deprive your Paternity of a

¹ Fr. Dominic Mary Turrano: b. at Burgio (Sicily) on Aug. 4, 1679; received into the Society on Oct. 14, 1694; taught at Palermo the humanities, mathematics and theology; became substitute of the Assistency of Italy, vice-provincial of Sicily, and d. at the Professed House of Rome, Nov. 13, 1759. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII. 270.

² Fr. James Philip Merlini: b. at Visso (Umbria), Sept. 7, 1662; admitted, July 31, 1679; taught grammar, humaniora, rhetoric; lectured 9 years on philosophy at the Roman College, 1 year on theology; d. at Rome, Febr. 1, 1716. Cf. *ibid.*, V. 979.

³ Fr. Marlo Corsoni: b. at Pistoia, May 2, 1678; admitted into the Society of Jesus, Febr. 20, 1694; taught grammar; the humaniora 4 years; philosophy 4 y.; was a preacher and a missionary; d. at Rome, May 22, 1747. Cf. *ibid.*, II and III.

⁴ Note that Fr. Turano is mentioned twice.

⁵ Probably Mark Anthony Isola: b. at Genoa, Nov. 25, 1683; entered the novitiate, Febr. 17, 1700; d. at Genoa, Sept. 21, 1747. Cf. *ibid.*, IV.

quale sò, che sarà non mediocre ma straordinaria al cuore di V.P. zelantiss.o e della gloria Divina, e del bene dlla Compagnia. Trà pochi giorni, cioè presso a 25. di questo mese il P. Manoel Freyre, ed io partiremo di dell'y per il Thibet, dove siamo inviati per procurar di riaprire là alcuna Missione; se tanta grazia compiacera di concederci per sua misericordia l'Altissimo. Ad esso, come a Dator d'ogni bene si devono infinite grazie, per essersi finalmente spuntata questa risoluzione, che incontro sempre tanti impedimenti. Doppo Dio la lode, e molte grazie si devono al P. Giuseppe da Sylva, che presentem.te è Visitatore di questa Missione del Mogor, come potrà V. P. intendere di cio che soggiungo.

Nel Mese di Novembre dell' anno scorso fui dal P. Provinciale avvisato per la Missione dl Thibet. Due giorni doppo un tal' avviso partij di Goa col P. Melchior dos Reys, che andava per nuovo Rett.e dl Coll.o di Agra. A' 4. di Genn.ro 1714. arrivammo in Surat, dove si ritrovava già il sopradetto P. Visitatore, il quale si mostrò subito inclinatissimo a favourirmi in ordine al farmi conseguire il desideratissimo intento della Missione assegnatami. A cagione delle turbolenze di questo Mogor fummo necessitati a tratten-

consolation, which I know will be, not small, but extraordinary, for Your Paternity's heart, so very zealous both of the divine glory and the good of the Company. In a few days, that is about the 25th of this month,¹ Father Manoel Freyre and I shall start from Delly for Tibet, whither we are sent to try reopening there some Mission, if the Most High is pleased in His Mercy to grant us so much grace. To Him as to the Giver of all good, are due infinite thanks, because this resolution, which always met with so many obstacles, has at last been reached. After God, the praise and much thanks are due to Father Giuseppe da Sylva, who at present is Visitor of this Mission of the Mogor, as Your Paternity will be able to understand by what I add.

In the month of November of last year I was destined by Fr. Provincial for the Mission of Tibet. Two days after that choice, I left Goa with Fr. Melchior dos Reys, who went as new Rector of the College of Agra. On the 4th January 1714, we arrived at Surat, where already was the above-said Fr. Visitor, who presently showed himself very much inclined to favour me, in order to make me obtain the much desired end of the Mission assigned me. Owing to the disturbances in this Mogor we were obliged to stay back

¹ They left Delhi on Sept. 23, 1714. (Puini 6.) Wessels (p. 211) has Sept. 24.

erci in Surat fino a' 26. di Marzo, nel qual giorno tutti e trè partimmo per il nostro viaggio. Agl' undici di Maggio arrivammo felicem.te a Delly, dove arrivò subito lettera dl P. Provinciale, in cui ordinava, che io restassi nel Coll.o di Agra. Ciò non ostante, trovandosi nuove di buona speranza intorno al Thibet determinò il detto P. Visitatore di mandarmi per la detta Missione, e di procurarmi compagno; e per tale s'offerì il P. Manoel Freyre, che già da alcuni anni stava quì in Delly alla cura di questa Cristianità. Mā Per chè entrava già il tempo delle pioggie, che totalmente impossibilitavano il poter subito partire fui mandato al Coll. o d' Agra, per proseguire lo studio della lingua, che in Surat avevo cominciato. Diradandosi le (P. 2) pioggie nel fine d'agosto partij d' Agra, e tornai a Delly. Quivi con maggior impegno, e zelo procurò il P. Visitatore di rendermi in tutto spedito per l'esecuzione de' miei desiderj; e a tal fine prese in presto dall Sio. ra D.a Giuliana Diaz da Costa Benefattrice d.a Comp.a bastante denaro per un copioso viatico, quale giudicò esser necessario per una tal' impresa. Oltre di ciò pose dal canto suo tutti i mezzi, che umanam.te potevano da uno zenlante Supe-

at Surat till the 26th of March, on which day we set out, all three, on our journey. On the 11th of May, we arrived happily at Delly,¹ where presently arrived a letter from the Fr. Provincial, wherein he ordered me to remain in the College of Agra. Notwithstanding this, as we got about Tibet news holding out good hope, the said Fr. Visitor decided to send me to the said Mission, and to find me a companion;² and Fr. Manoel Freyre, who for some years already was at Delly in charge of this Christianity, offered himself as such. But, as the season of the rains had already set in, which made it quite impossible for us to be able to start at once, I was sent to the College of Agra, in order to continue the study of the language, which I had begun at Surat. When (P. 2) the rains grew less, at the end of August,³ I left Agra and returned to Delly. Here, with greater energy and zeal, the Fr. Visitor tried to get me quite ready for the execution of my desires, and to that end he borrowed from the Signora Dona Giuliana Diaz da Costa, Benefactress of the Company, sufficient money for an ample viaticum, which I judged necessary for such an enterprise. Moreover, he used on his side all the means which humanly

¹ From this passage we can conclude that the three Jesuits travelled together throughout from Surat to Delhi.

² This passage again shows that the choice of Fr. Freyre was not made at Surat.

³ Desideri may not have been able to leave Agra on Aug. 22, or the evening of Aug. 21, as his letter of Agra, Aug. 21, 1714, shows he intended doing.

riore porsiper il presente intents usando anche finezze di giovevoliss.e prevenzioni, le quali meriterebbero d'essere quì rappresentate, mà per non essere a V. P. molesto, le tralascio. Solam.te prego V. P. che per la sua singolar benignità, giacchè non posso iodar le dovute grazie, a chi mi hà tanto, e con tanto impengo favorito, si compiacchia di mostrar' al medesimo P. Visitatore quel gradimento, che veram.te merita, e a dargli le dovute grazie per lo zelo mostrato in questa santa impresa, e che mostra per aprire almeno un' altra Missione, se S.D.M. si degnerà di condurre a fine i di lui santi e fervorosi desiderj.

Si degni altresì V. P. di benedire e il P. Manoel Freyre, che meco viene pemio Superiore, e me, e tutti i nostri passi, e di raccomandare di continuo a S.D.M., e far raccomandare da' Nostri, specialm.te Novizj, il buon successo di questa nostra impresa. Si compiacchia S.D.M. di concedere a V. P. ogni vera felicità, e consolazione, come desidero; e posto a' piedi di V.P. mi raccomando a' suoi SS. Sacri, e oraz.ni, e la supplico d.a sua S.a Benediz.ne.

could be used by a zealous Superior for the present object, resorting even to refinements of most useful attentions, which would deserve to be related here;¹ but, not to be troublesome to Your Paternity, I omit them. Only, I pray Your Paternity that, as I cannot give due thanks to one who has favoured me so much, and with so much industry, you would in your singular kindness be pleased to show to the same Fr. Visitor that approbation which he truly deserves, and to give him due thanks for the zeal he has shown in this holy enterprise, and which he shows, in order that at least one other Mission be opened, provided it please His Divine Majesty to bring to issue your holy and fervent desires.

Moreover, let Your Paternity deign to bless both Fr. Manoel Freyre, who comes with me as my Superior,² and me, and all our steps, and to commend unceasingly to His Divine Majesty, and to get commended by Ours, specially the Novices, the good success of this our enterprise. May it please His Divine Majesty to grant to Your Paternity all true happiness and consolation, as I desire; and, placed at Your Paternity's feet, I commend myself to Your Holy

¹ We conclude that the Visitor was at Delhi when Desideri arrived there, and that the letters-patent of the Visitor were sent from Delhi to Desideri at Agra. Cf. previous letter, note 1, page 615.

² One of the reasons why Freyre was appointed Desideri's Superior on the Tibet journey may have been that he was 5 years Desideri's senior. Desideri was, however, a great deal pluckier, as the sequel shows.

Div. P.M.R.da.

Delly 20. 7bre 1714.

Ind.mo in X.po Servo, e
Minimo suddito
Ippolito Desiderj.

(P. 3.) Posto l'essersi il P. Manoel Freyre spontaneamente offerto per venir' alla Missione di Thibet, e di aver con tal' offerta di se stesso promosso un' affare di tanto bene, mi fò ardito di supplicar V.P., che in caso che da Goa scrivano i Sup.iori a V.P. per ottenere la grazia di far fare la Professione a detto P. Manoel Freyre, si degni V.P. di concedere un benigno rescritto a tal supplica. Mi perdoni V.P. il molto ardire, che in questa mia lettera mi prendo; e spero, che così farà, ben conoscendo, derivar tutto da un' animo impegnatissimo a promuovere questa S.ta impresa, e perciò corrispondente, per quanto posso, a chiunque favorisce, e aiuta und tal' opera. E di nuovo posto a' suoi piedi, la supplico d.a sua S.a Benedizione.

(P. 4.) (Address:) Al M.to
R.do in X.po P.re N.ro Il P.re

Michel' Angelo Tamburini
Prep.to Gn.le
d.a Comp.a di Gesù.

Roma.

1a via.

sacrifices and prayers, and I
crave your Holy Blessing.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's,

Delly, the 20th of September,
1714.

Most unworthy Servant in
Christ, and Least Subject,
Ippolito Desideri.

(P. 3) Since Fr. Manoel Freyre has offered himself of his own accord to come to the Mission of Tibet, and by such an offering of himself has promoted a matter of such usefulness, I make bold to ask Your Paternity that, in case the Superiors write from Goa to Your Paternity to obtain the favour of making the said Fr. Manoel Freyre make the Profession, Your Paternity deign to grant a kind rescript to that request. May Your Paternity pardon me the great boldness which in this letter I venture to show; and I hope you will do so, well knowing that all proceeds from a heart entirely pledged to promoting this Holy enterprise, and therefore eager to make a return, as far as I can, to whoever favours and assists that undertaking. And again, placed at your feet, I crave your Holy Blessing.

(P. 4.) (Address:) To Our
Very Reverend Father in
Christ, Father

Michel' Angelo Tamburini,
Provost General
of the Company of Jesus.

Rome.

1st via.

(Below the address, traces of an octagonal seal with the monogram of the Society, I.H.S., in which the H is surmounted

by a cross; below this monogram, the seal shows three nails, with the heads of the nails upwards.)

(*Endorsements made in Rome:*)

Goana.

Delly 20 Septembris 1714.

P. Hippolytus Desiderii.

Scribit iam iam in procinctu ad Missionem Thibethensem cum socio P. Eñmanuele Freyre, cum expeditionis laus debetur praecepit P. Josepho a Sylva actuali Visitatori Mogorensi, quod explicat narratione quae acciderunt ante discessum.

Petit ut R.V.a laudet zelum extraordinarium P. Visitatoris, et ipsum ac simul P. Emmanuelem Freyre benedicat, eosque faciat Deo commendare praecepit a nostris Novitiis.

Et quia P. Eñmanuel Freyre voluntarie se obtulit ad illam missionem petit, ut si e Goa illi petant apud P. V. professionem, dignetur P. V. a ipsam professionem illi concedere.

Rs. 22 Septembris 1726.

(*Endorsements made in Rome:*)

Goa things.

Delly, 20th September, 1714.

Fr. Hippolytus Desideri.

He writes that he is now ready to start for the Tibetese Mission with Fr. Emmanuel Freyre as his companion, the praise for this expedition being due chiefly to Fr. Joseph da Sylva, actual Mogorese Visitor, which he explains by relating what happened before the departure.

He asks Your Paternity to praise the extraordinary zeal of the Fr. Visitor,¹ and to bless both him and Fr. Emmanuel Freyre, and to have them commended to God, chiefly by the Novices.

And, as Fr. Emmanuel Freyre offered himself voluntarily for that Mission, he asks that, if from Goa they request for him the Profession from Your Paternity, Your Paternity deign to grant him the profession.

Answered: 22nd September, 1726.²

¹ The General's secretary seems to have been quite elated by the zeal shown by Fr. Joseph da Sylva. Desideri had not used the word 'extraordinary'.

² It will appear extraordinary that this letter of Dec. 20, 1714, was answered only 12 years later. There is no knowing through what vicissitudes it may have passed before reaching Rome. Circumstances had changed so entirely that the goodwill shown in answering it at all proves that the delay was no fault of the General's Curia. The answer was likely an order calling Desideri to Rome; but he had left Pondicherry for Rome on Jan. 21, 1727, i.e., before the General's answer could reach India. Earlier orders to the same effect had, no doubt, reached him before he left India.

7. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri S.J.,¹ to the General of the Society of Jesus (Leh, Lasakh, Aug. 3, 1715).

Being destined to the Mission of Tibet, I left Goa on the twenty-first of November 1713,² and on the 4th of January 1714³ arrived at Surat where Father Joseph de Silva, the Visitor of the College and Mission of Agra, already was. As he did not like that I should go alone to such distant places,⁴ he proposed to me after some time as my Companion Father Manoel Freyre, who, he said, was to be the Superior.⁵ During the time that I was obliged to remain at Surat, I began studying the Persian language. On the 26th of March⁶ I started with the Father Visitor,⁷ and on the 11th of May⁸ arrived at Delhi, where Father Freyre's coming to Tibet was ratified.⁹

As, owing to the rains, I had to wait three or four months, I was sent to Agra where I continued studying the language. At the end of August¹⁰ I returned to Delhi, where I found

¹ Cf. Puini, pp. 361-370. The letter is in the *Sommario* of the Case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in the Mission of Tibet.

² Puini (p. 5) has Nov. 17, 1713, for the departure from Goa. Wessels (p. 210) has Nov. 13, 1713, which is evidently a mistake, since Desideri wrote a letter at Goa on Nov. 12, and another on Nov. 15, 1713. Cf. Letters 1 and 2. In the letter from Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, we have Nov. 20.

³ On this date see our note 1 to Letter 4. Also Jan. 4, in the letter from Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

⁴ As Tibet.

⁵ This is one of the passages whence Puini and Wessels concluded that the choice of Fr. Freyre was made at Surat.

⁶ Note again the date of departure, March 26, against March 25 (Puini, 6); also March 26 in the letter from Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

⁷ And Fr. Melchior dos Reys.

⁸ No discrepancy found for May 11.

⁹ *Doje fu ratificata la venuta del P. Freyre al Thibet.*

It may be on the strength of this passage that Puini (p. 6) states that at Surat Fr. Joseph da Sylva, the Visitor of the Mogor Mission, wanted to appoint Freyre as companion and Superior of Fr. Desideri. Puini (p. 6) can be misunderstood to say also that Freyre became Desideri's companion from Surat, whereas Freyre was at the time at Delhi, as we have seen. Fr. Wessels (p. 210) also says that at Surat Desideri learned that Freyre was to be his Superior and travelling companion. Freyre seems to have offered himself voluntarily at Delhi, after his interview with Desideri the first night they were together. In this letter it is said that 'after some time', the Visitor proposed to Desideri Fr. Freyre as a companion. The conversation can be understood to have taken place at Surat; but Desideri may be anticipating events. When next he says that on arrival at Delhi the going of Freyre was ratified the meaning may be only that it was approved there by the Visitor who had come along from Surat. It is, of course, possible that, when Desideri learned that the Provincial of Goa would send him a companion only after a year, he and the Visitor cast about for a companion in Mogor, and that Desideri was asked by the Visitor to feel his way with Freyre.

¹⁰ The same expression 'end of August', as in Letter 6.

Father Freyre, and our departure was delayed till the 23rd of September, the day we began our journey.¹

On the 10th of October,² we arrived at Lahor, and, as there was no Father or Priest, we heard the confession of the Christians and gave them Holy Communion. On that occasion, I baptized a baby which a layman had already baptized, but without the necessary formula; also an old woman, and two adult ladies who were well prepared and instructed.

On the 19th of October,³ we set out from Lahor and in a few days arrived at the Caucasus Mountains.⁴ These mountains are very rough and steep, owing to their height; they form like a ladder of mountains, one rising above another, till one reaches a horribly high and steep mountain, called the Pir Pangial, whom the superstitious travellers pay great reverence and offerings to, as they pass, in the belief that (P. 362) it is the abode of a very old man, the custodian of those mountains; opinion, which I believe is founded on the fable of Prometheus.⁵ Some of those mountains are perpetually covered with snow and ice. It took me twelve days to cross those mountains on foot. The difficulty I met was that I had often to get on foot across torrents of very cold water, molten snow in fact, between pieces of ice and over most troublesome stones; sometimes, the stones were so troublesome, the torrent was so violent, and I got so benumbed by the piercing cold water that, to pass those torrents, I was finally obliged to hang on to the tail of some pack-bullock which happened to cross. After that, benumbed and wet as I was, I would continue on my way braving the wind and the sharp cold, against which my clothing protected me very ill. Rough though these mountains are, they are very fertile in many places, and pleasant on account of the great variety of trees; they are inhabited and governed by petty kings subject to the Emperor of the Mogor.

On the 12th of November,⁶ I arrived at Cascimir,⁷ where shortly after, in consequence of what I had suffered before, I had a sharp attack of dysentery, accompanied by complete

¹ 23rd Sept. (Puini, 6); 24th Sept. (Wessels, 211); 23rd Sept. in the letter from Lhasa, April, 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

² 9th Oct. (Puini, 6); 10th Oct. in the letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

³ 19th Oct. (Puini, 6); 19th Oct. in the letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716.

⁴ They passed through the town of Little Gujarat, and left it on Oct. 28. (Puini, 6.)

⁵ Pir Panjal. The pass is at an altitude of 11,400 feet. *Pir* means a holy man. Cf. the similar passage in the next letter. 'The name Caucasus, and the fable of Prometheus, as we learn from Strabo (L. XI. Georgr.), were transferred to the Indic mountains by the Macedonians already in the time of Alexander the Great.' (Cf. Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Roma, 1762, p. 452.)

⁶ Nov. 13 (Puini, 6; Wessels, 211).

⁷ Srinagar.

loss of appetite and weakness, so much so that I was in danger of death. At Christmas I rallied sufficiently; but, not long after, in February, I was so ill that every one, and Father Superior too, thought I had not long to live. However, during the six months¹ that we were forced to stay in Cascimir, the mountain-roads being blocked with very deep snow and ice, I made myself acquainted with the Persian language.

On the 17th of May,² we started for Tibet. In spite of all the care which Father Superior and I had taken for more than a year, we had never heard except about two Tibets.³ The first, which stretches from North to West and is only a few days from Cascimir, is called Little Tibet. The people are Maomettans, like its petty kings, who are subject to the Emperor of the Mogor; hence, although the country is productive, it does not produce the fruit we looked for. The other Tibet, which is called Great Tibet, stretches from North to East. Either Tibet is continually in relation with Cascimir, owing to the great trade in wool, which comes from Great Tibet. The journey from Cascimir to Ladac, otherwise called Ladas, which is the fortress and capital where resides the absolute King of

¹ From Nov. 12, 1714, to May 17, 1715.

² May 17 in Puini (pp. 6, 11; Wessels, 211) and in the next letter.

³ The more I reflect on this passage and the explanations which follow in this letter and the next, the less I understand how much Desideri and Freyre knew of Tibet and its divisions, when they left Delhi, and why they chose the Kashmir route. Surely, both knew that the Capuchins had gone to Tibet by way of Bengal and Patna. It was their fault, if they knew not. Fr. Martinetti knew it, and the other Fathers in Mogor must have known it too. The question for the Jesuits was where de Andrada had been. They did not, we find, discover he had been at Tsaparang. Did they know he had gone to Tibet *via* Srinagar, and mistake the Srinagar of Kashmir for the Srinagar of Garhwal? We have nothing about that in Desideri's long relation (edn. Puini) or in his letters. Leaving Delhi, Desideri knew of Little or Lesser Tibet (Baltistan), also of a Great or Greater Tibet. He expected a better harvest in Great or Greater Tibet, no doubt because he had heard that little Tibet (Baltistan) had become mostly Muhammadan. (Cf. Letter No. 5.) The Greater or Great Tibet he knew of he placed no doubt near Little Tibet, or in Ladakh; else, he would not have gone to Leh (Ladakh) by Kashmir and Little Tibet. What then did he discover at Leh? That the Great Tibet of Ladakh was also called 'Buton' (Bhutan), and that there was a still greater Tibet, the one whither the Capuchins had gone. But he knew or should have known that before, it appears to me. He should have known before that Tibet stretched beyond the whole northern frontier of Nepal, and that the Capuchins had reached it almost in a direct line from Patna. To put Desideri's discovery otherwise. On leaving Delhi he had heard of only two Tibets (Baltistan and Ladakh). He may have heard Ladakh spoken of as 'Thibet Kalan or Bara Thibet' (Puini, 27), *i.e.* Great Tibet. In Ladakh he found there was a third; the one where were or had been the Capuchins. Freyre at once concluded that this third Tibet was that of de Andrada, and Desideri himself was inclined to think that de Andrada had been in U-Tsang, the capital of which he learned, if he did not know before, was Lhasa. Yet, because the Capuchins were there, or had been there, he was inclined to stay in Ladakh.

Great Tibet, takes a month, if one goes leisurely up the mountains and down again. The first 6 or 7 days the journey is tolerable; after that the road becomes abominable and remains so several days; not only is the ground itself very rough, but the road is rendered a great deal rougher by the unceasing cold, the icy winds, and the snow through which one must travel by day, whereas, at night, one must sleep in the open, exposed to all these inclemencies; (P. 363) for, in those Kingdoms, barring something or other one stretches on the ground, the ground is one's bed. This Tibet commences at a high and very snowy Mountain called Kantel,¹ the ascent of which constitutes the extreme limit of the dominions of Cascimir, the descent forming the beginning of the territory of great Tibet. We crossed this very snowy Mountain, and so entered this Tibet on the 30th of May, the day of the Ascension.²

That day, as also the previous day and the day following, there fell much snow where we passed. This road among snow and ice continues up to Dias, the first fortress and inhabited place of that Kingdom.³ From Dias onward, the road is also

¹ *Kantel*. The name of the mountain is not given in Puini (p. 11), but at his p. 26. Wessels (p. 211) and Puini (pp. 11, n. 1, 19) identify it with the Zoji-la; height 11,120 ft. Where did Moorcroft (quoted by Wessels, p. 211) discover that Desideri calls it Baltal Kotal? We do not find that Desideri gives it that name.

² 30th May (Puini, 6. 11. 25. 26; Wessels, 211; also in the next letter).

³ Identified with Dras by Puini (p. 20) and Wessels (p. 212).

'When in 1822 Moorcroft visited Pashkyum, a town south-west of Kargil, on a tributary of the Suru River, the Rajah showed him a book, which he had inherited from his grandfather. It was an edition of the Old and New Testament from the Papal Press dated in the year 1598. It was bound in morocco, with the initials IHS surmounted by a cross stamped on each side of the cover. How it had come there no person could inform me, but it might possibly have been given to the former rajah by Desideri who visited Ladakh, although it is very doubtful if he reached Le.' (Moorcroft, II. 22.) The device on the cover of the book evidently points to its Jesuit origin, but from the date 1598 it can hardly be supposed to have been carried out to Tibet by Desideri in 1715; it would rather have been left there by Father Azevedo during his visit to Leh in 1631. (Wessels, p. 214 n. 3.)

Many other explanations are possible. The Jesuits used to accompany Akbar and Jahangir periodically to Kashmir, i.e., to Srinagar. One of the Raja's ancestors may have come to Srinagar to pay his respects to the Emperor and have made the acquaintance of the Jesuit Fathers. Did not rajas of Baltistan give their daughters in marriage to the Moghul Emperors, notably to Akbar? In that case they may have come on a visit to the Emperor's court at Lahore, or Agra, and have met the Jesuits. This is not the only case of Jesuit MSS. travelling high up the Himalayas.

A copy of the *Speculum veritatis* or *Aina-i-Haqq Nunā*, dated 1678, was found in an obscure corner of the Kunawar Mountains and sent to Csoma de Koros. Cf. Th. Duka, *Life and Works of A. Csoma de Kőrös*, London, Trübner, 1885, p. 96. This is a work in Persian by Fr. Jerome Xavier. Cf. *JASB.*, 1914, p. 68 n. 2.

We note in passing that Moorcroft may not have known of Fr. Desideri's letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716, the only text by Desideri which was

rough, although the snow lies on the very top of the mountains, not where one passes. The journey from Dias to Leh is likewise all the time over mountains, truly the abode of horror, aridity and desolation. These mountains succeed one another, or are placed one above the other; or, what is oftenest the case, they are so near to one another that they are separated only by icy cold water issuing from the snow which melts till it snows again the next winter; and, as the water runs over stones, fragments of mountains, it forms awful torrents. It is impossible to travel by the top of the Mountains, owing to the perpetual snows; hence, there remains only the road half-way down, that is along the slopes of the said mountains. But, ah me! the road is so narrow that one cannot frequently rest on it straight one foot at a time; one must proceed step by step, one foot behind the other, with difficulty and trouble, suspended in such a way that, if the foot slips ever so little, one must fall down the precipice among the rocks and be killed in the furious torrents flowing at the bottom; if by good luck one were to escape death, one would at any rate be half broken to pieces or miserably maimed, as we saw happening to some poor people. Therefore, all the time, one must advance with fluttering heart and trembling feet, and, on one's lips and in one's inmost heart, fervent commendations to God. The more so, as those mountains, in addition to such paths, are such by nature that, being composed of arid rocks, there is not a tree, not the smallest shrub, not the smallest blade of grass to which, in one's time of danger, one might cling ever so little with trembling hands, if not with safety, at least with some hope. About myself I confess plainly that I often gave myself up for lost; and, if I always escaped happily, I attribute it to the special protection of St. Venantius.¹ At other times, one must cross furious torrents; generally the bridge is nothing but a narrow piece of stake, (P. 364) offering not an inch of security to one's dubious feet. At one place there is a kind of bridge which is truly curious. It is not made of stone, or of wood or of stakes, but of ropes made with thin branches of trees. When passing over such ropes, one must go quite barefooted and commend one's soul to God. This sort of bridge is called Zampà, and, whenever I think of it and how we passed, I tremble and turn pale.² But, to say nothing of the quality of the road, there are other discomforts: the great cold, the stormy winds, the deep snow, sleeping on the

long current; Ladakh is mentioned there, and so is Leh, as the capital of Ladakh.

¹ There is a St. Venantius, martyr, born at Camerino and honoured there, but the place is very far from Pistoia, Desideri's birthplace, and I do not find that St. Venantius is one of the special patrons of travellers.

² Cp. Puini, p. 28, where the same bridge appears to be described. Puini says (p. 28, n. 1) there is still a rope-bridge over the Dras, between Tashgam and Chanegund, about 20 miles from the fortress of Dras.

ground under the bleak cold roof of the sky, and finding nothing else to eat than wheat-meal (*farina di Grano*) and roasted barley, which the Natives eat without any preparation; and even that it is not always to be had: because one does not every day come across a village or settlement, nor can one buy it at all those places; besides, it is extremely difficult to find a handful of firewood for cooking the said meal after reducing it to paste with water; nor must I forget mentioning the no small trouble to which one's eyes are exposed for several days: for, as one has to travel on the snow, the rays of the Sun fall first on the snow and are then reflected into the eyes, which is a cruel torture. I found no small discomfort in that, and for some days I was obliged to walk with my eyes almost completely bandaged with my handkerchief. Add to this the great annoyances one is subjected to, not from robbers, for people here do not resort to that art, but from custom-house officials, to whom, besides the money they exact, one must give a certain amount of tobacco, candy-sugar and coloured cloth, and all for mere thanks. Tobacco, cloth, as also bangles and suchlike things are so to say necessary in all those places, because, as those Kingdoms have no currency of their own, the only currency being a silver coin from the Empire of the Mogor, which is equivalent to five Roman *giuli*, bartering is much in use, especially in buying small articles. Such is the journey from Cascimir to Leh, otherwise called Ladas, namely up to the capital of this great Tibet. In those mountainous Kingdoms there is not a single city, not a single large agglomeration. On that journey, which, if one travels quite leisurely, takes a month, we spent 40 days, arriving at Leh or Ladas on the 25th of June.¹

I shall now say something about this great Tibet, which is also called Buton.² As I have already said, it begins at a high and very snowy Mountain named Kantel and stretches from North to East. (P. 365) It has a King, called in the Tibetan language Ghialpo.³ The name of the present King is Nima Nimghial.⁴ This King is independent, and in Tibet itself there is a petty King who is subject to him, his Tributary.⁵ In the first settlements we came to, the population is Mac-mettan; elsewhere, they are gentiles; yet, they are not as super-

¹ 26th June (Puini, 6. 11. 25. 29; Wessels, 214); 25th June in the next letter.

² Bhutan.

³ Puini (p. 78 n.) romanizes the word in the form *rgyal-po*.

⁴ 'The same therefore as Nyi-ma-nam-gyal, the great-grandson of Seng-genam-gyal, as appears from Dr. Marx' Ladakh documents.' (Wessels, p. 215, referring to *JASB.*, Vol. LX, Pt. I (1891), p. 99.)

⁵ Desideri refers here to a Muhammadan kinglet, subject to the King of Leh, who gave him a passport and entertained him at dinner; he also sent servants with the Fathers up to the rope-bridge. (Puini, 27-28.) Wessels (p. 214) calls him independent, by mistake. Wessels supposes him to have lived at Kargil, in the Muhammadan part of Ladakh.

stitious as the Gentiles are in other parts, and it would seem that they have had in olden times some knowledge of our Holy Faith.¹ God, whom they call Konciok,² in their language, is according to them one and Trine. They have their Rosary, and, when reciting it, they say *Om ha hum*.³ When asked what *Om ha hum* means, they say it is God; then, coming down to the particular, that *Om* means mind, or arm, that is Power; *ha* means Word; *Hum* means the heart, and the three words together mean God. Moreover, they say promiscuously Konciok cik, or one God, and Konciok Sum, or Trine God.⁴ (336) They also adore a being whom they call Urghien, who, according to their calculations, was born about 1700 years ago.⁵ Some, when asked whether he is God or Man, answer that he is both God and Man. They say he had neither father, nor mother, but was born from a flower; however, in their pictures and statues they represent a Lady with a flower in her hand and say she is Urghien's mother. They adore other beings, who, they say, are not God, but Saints of God. In their Churches, they have an Altar with a cloth and antependium (*con tovaglia e palliotto*). In the middle of the Altar they have something like a Tabernacle, and they say that it is like a particular place for God and Urghien, which Urghien they say, however, is in Heaven, near to God. They have also their Religious, called Lamma; these wear a special dress, different from that of the Laity, and they do not, like the Laity, keep the tuft of Hair on their Head, nor ear-rings in their ears, but wear the tonsure. They do not marry, but most observe perpetual celibacy. It is their office to study the Books of their Law, which are written in a language and characters different from the common current ones; they must assist (at prayers) and recite (them) as in choir,⁶ perform their ceremonies, rites and offerings in their Churches, in which they have Lamps burning; and they offer to God and to Urghien wheat or barley, flour or paste, and, in other small neatly polished vessels, water. When these things have been thus offered on the Altar, they next eat them like holy things, (P. 366) and as if they were Relics. Usually, these Religious live many of them together in the same house, and away from the seculars, by whom they are greatly venerated and respected.

¹ Desideri says he was mistaken in this matter of former Christianity, and in what he writes here of God and the Trinity. Cf. Puini, 186.

² *Kon-cioá* (Desideri); dKon. mchhog = Ratna = precious (Puini, 232).

³ *Om mani padma hum* (Puini, 259).

⁴ Puini (p. 319) places in A.D. 747 his arrival in Tibet.

⁵ 'These and other errors regarding the religion of the Tibetans, into which Desideri fell before he studied it fully, were noted and corrected by him in the *Relazione*, as may be seen at pp. 186-188 of this volume.' (Note by Puini at this place.)

⁶ *A maniera di loro* is probably a misreading by Puini for *a maniera di coro*. At this place the next letter has: *à manière de choeur*.

They have their local Superiors, and acknowledge one as their general chief and Superior, who is like a General or Pontiff, whom even the King greatly looks up to and pays reverence to, as to one above himself.

These Lammas, the King and his ministers, and the rest also consider both of us as European Lammas, and, seeing us recite our Office in different places and at different times, all of them have shown themselves very eager to know what sort of book we prayed out of, and they have asked with much curiosity the explanation of the pictures which in the Breviary represent the chief Mysteries of the Life of Christ; and, when they have seen and heard it all, all echo the same words:¹ 'Nuru, Nuru,' which means 'Very well! very well!' And nearly all add two things: first, they assert that their book and ours is the same (which I do not, however, believe), and secondly, they exclaim: 'Oh, if you knew our language, or, at least, if we knew yours!' From all this it may easily be inferred that their dispositions are good, and that they are well disposed to hear: *Fides autem ex auditu* (Faith then cometh by hearing).² (37) The nature, or character, of the People is gentle and tractable, averse to doing harm to others. The laity are not allowed to marry more than one wife. In their law it is allowed to eat every sort of meat, also beef, which is against the custom of the other Gentiles; neither do they admit the transmigration of Souls.

These people have no culture; they are ignorant, having no sciences, nor any arts, nor relations with other nations, except with porters (*facchini*) from Cascimir, who come here to take wool. These places are very tough, as may be gathered from what has been said above. The Winter lasts the greater part of the year, and on the top of the mountains there is snow the whole year. They are also very poor, all of them. The country produces only Wheat and Barley, nothing more: for the country is all rocks and arid mountains. Besides Wheat and Barley (from which they also make a kind of wine), they eat meat and make great use of butter. The houses, which are very small and narrow, are made of stones placed one above the other and joined at most with mud. They have no other clothes but woollen ones.

As soon as we arrived within sight of this Leh or Ladas, Father Superior, tired of the many toils and sufferings of so long a journey, began to think of returning to the Mogor, and he asked and tried to find out whether there was for returning to the Mogor any other road than the one we had come by. Two days after our arrival, we went to visit the Lampò,³ or the Chief Minister (P. 367) and first person after the King. In fact,

¹ *Convengono in questo Epifonema. An epiphonema is a sentence used in exclamation.*

² Rom. 10. 17.

³ Longbo (Wessels, 214).

Father Superior had obtained in Casimir and brought with him a letter of recommendation for him.¹ The visit consisted in presenting the letter and asking a passport for our departure. The Lampò received us very well; he showed us honour and treated us kindly, after which he regaled us on butter and Cia.² The day of Saints Peter and Paul,³ the King sent us word that he awaited our visit. Father Superior excused himself for that day; whereupon, the King let us know that he would receive us after three days. Finally, we went to visit the King. He received us very well, very courteously. The next day, the King called for us again, and he expressed a wish that we should bring with us for our visit some things of ours to gratify his curiosity. So, all my baggage, little and insignificant as it was, was taken across. This time, the King did not receive us sitting on his throne, as on the first occasion; but very courteously and very confidentially. He was delighted to see our Books, our poor wardrobe, our Disciplines, Chainlets and Rosaries; and he said that he esteemed much more seeing that than Pearls, Jewels and precious things. After much civility, he regaled us (it was the third time he did so) with plenty of wheat-meal and butter.

Father Superior asked with much insistence that they should give him as soon as possible the passport for our departure; but the King and the chief Ministers answered that they wished and requested us to stay at least another fortnight (15 *altri giorni*). Father Superior accepted. They had two reasons in keeping us back. The first was that they would be pleased to see us stay here (indeed, I had asked two persons to obtain from the king permission to that effect); but Father Superior did not like to remain, and, in case I remained, according to my wish, he proposed conditions unobtainable from these peoples. The second reason was that, if we wanted to go by all means, we had before us a journey of at least three months, and that, as the King had to send people that side, he wished us to go with them for our greater safety.

Our second visit took place on the 4th of July;⁴ on the 5th, the King sent us a fourth repast consisting of a Kid. On the 6th we were invited to visit the Supreme Lamma, of whose

¹ The Fathers had also a letter of recommendation from the son of this minister, who had treated them very honourably, at a place several days beyond the rope-bridge (Puini, 29).

² Tea.

³ June 29. They had arrived at Leh on June 26 (Puini, 6. 11. 25. 29; Wessels, 214); 25th June in the next letter.

⁴ Two visits to the King have already been referred to in the last but one paragraph preceding this one. The first visit was to be 3 days after June 29, the second was the day following. The next letter says that the first visit to the king was on July 2; the 2nd, on the 4th, the 3rd on the 8th; the visit to the Grand Lama is there put down on the 6th July; and the 1st and 2nd visits to the Lampo on the 2nd day after their arrival and July 9th.

importance I have spoken above. We were received and treated, both by him and the other chief Lammas, with great familiarity and courtesy. Among them one is the King's cousin and another is the Lampò's son. At the end we were treated to flour and butter. On the 8th, we were called for the third time to a familiar visit at the King's, and honoured with flour and butter. On the 9th, we were invited to visit the Lampò the second time. He especially showed a great desire, as others had done, that we should know his language, or that he should know ours, so that we might easily converse about our (P. 368) Holy Faith. Then I, as I had done already at other times, seizing the opportunity I was looking for, offered to remain here and learn the language; but Father Superior, as on other occasions, made much difficulty; hearing which, they changed the conversation and said that in their Kingdom there are Lammas enough, and thus my hopes and efforts were disappointed. I pray to God not to allow that in this matter I be ever, on my part, in the least guilty in his Divine sight; nay I wish to stay here motionless as a stone and die a thousand times, but *melior est obedientia quam victimae* (obedience is better than sacrifices).¹

I said above that, as soon as Father Superior arrived here at Leh, he started inquiring very carefully whether there was another road in order to return to the Mogor by way of Srinagar; he understood that on that road there are mountains, that it is necessary to go on foot and that there are robbers. Accordingly, as it was impossible to go that way and he did not want to go back the way we had come, he made new inquiries and found out that further before us lies another, a third, Tibet. He inquired about the journey and heard that it is one of three months (which means four for us, who always go very slowly),² and that there are no mountains. Moreover, it was known for sure³ that the Capuchin Fathers went to that third Tibet. In fine, he learned that, as a fact, this third Tibet is very near to the Mogor, and that it is the easiest way of all to return thither; hence he wanted to go to this third Tibet, and, from the second day of our stay here, he started pressing and importuning the King, the Lampò, the Great Lamma and others to get a Passport. That was precisely what troubled me.⁴ For, if Father Superior does not like on any account to remain in this Tibet, he also protests against remaining in the third, and declares he is resolved to return to the Mogor, although his doing so may oblige me too to go back with him to the Mogor;

¹ I Kings 15. 22.

² Passage in square brackets by Puini.

³ *Si seppe certo* 'It was known for certain', which can mean that the certain knowledge was acquired at Leh.

⁴ This shows what patience Desideri had to practise with his Superior at Leh, for the rest of the journey up to Lhasa, and at Lhasa itself.

for, since the Third Tibet is so far and necessitates much expense, there is evident danger that, when we arrive there and Father Superior persists, as he does, in returning to the Mogor, whereas I wish to stay in the third Tibet to begin a Mission, the money given us be insufficient for both purposes; and, as I cannot stay against his will, I may be forced to return to the Mogor with him, and so our journey and the plans of the Superiors will prove abortive. Add to this that it is sure that the Fathers of Propaganda¹ went there, and so there is no need there of other Missionaries. Again, other people having come from there, we have questioned them, and, as far as we can gather, it does not appear that they have effected anything all this time, so that it seems there is little or nothing to be expected on that side.² All this made me resolve not to go to the third P(369) Tibet, the more so as I had at least two strong reasons for remaining in this second Tibet. The first reason is that I see these people so well inclined and disposed, since even the chief personages of the land have many times shown that they wish us to stay here and learn the language to converse about the things of Our Holy Faith. Your Paternity³ well knows that for one who wishes to open a Mission this is a blow which goes to his very heart, a chain binding his feet. The second reason why I should remain here was the following. I was in doubt whether to open a Mission in the second and third Tibet. Now, since I cannot do so in the two places at the same time, I had to consider, according to the right rule of charity, which of the two Tibets stood in greater need. In this second Tibet there neither was nor is any Missionary, nor is any likely to come, owing to the great asperity of these places, where, as I have seen with my own eyes, snow begins to fall and pile up in the middle of July. Missionaries have gone to the third Tibet and are there perhaps yet.⁴ Now, just as, if I found two persons in great need and had only one morsel of bread, I ought to give it to the one who is in greater want, so too in this case. This granted, I felt a scruple in my soul and I proposed it to the Father Superior. His answer was that, if I wished to stay, I might; however, he made me understand that he would not discuss the point, and that I would have to give an account

¹ The Capuchins.

² These 'other men' did not know by July 1715 that the Capuchins had left Lhasa in 1711. A previous set of men seems then to have told the Fathers that they had met the Capuchins at Lhasa, or in the third Tibet.

³ This style of address makes it clear that the letter was addressed to the General of the Society at Rome.

⁴ If Desideri was sure by 1714 that the Capuchins had left in 1711, he may have thought now that the Capuchins had returned.

to the Superiors. After that he said that, in any case, he wanted to go to the third Tibet, where Father Andrada had been,¹ that being the intention of the Superiors. Left in doubt, with reasons for either alternative, I decided to follow the Father who had been appointed as my Superior, feeling sure that, before God and before Man, he cannot be condemned who, obeying in things not manifestly sinful, conforms to the will of the Superior, to whom it belongs to give an account to God and to Man both for himself and his subordinate. Meanwhile, it is decided that, as soon as we have the Passport, we shall go to the third Tibet. If I have erred in my decision, the error will have been of the mind, not of the will.

The third Tibet is a three or four months' journey from here. During the first 10 or 12 days the journey is across mountains, after that through level country all the time. Those plains are deserts, uninhabited; only now and again do shepherds go there with their flocks, remaining there some time under tents. At times, the road is infested by neighbouring Tartars; so, there is some danger. The third Tibet is also called Great Tibet; it is not in mountainous, but level country, (P. 370) and not very distant from China. In the said third Tibet the law and religion is exactly the same as in this second Tibet; therefore, what I have said about it must be understood to apply also to the third Tibet. Its chief place is called in the Tibettian language Urzan;² in the Persian language, Arghiangh;³ while in the Indostan language, or that of the Mogor, it is called Lassa or Lassan.⁴ The king and the chief Lamma

¹ How did Freyre now know that de Andrada had been in the third Tibet, if he had gone in search of his Mission in the second Tibet or Ladakh, and did not know in 1714 that there was a third Tibet? Did he conclude it now, after finding no traces of de Andrada's Mission at Leh? The people at Leh could not have remembered de Andrada, who never was there. They might have remembered de Azevedo and d'Oliveira (1631); they might have remembered the King of Tsaparang whom they went to fight in 1629-30, and took a prisoner to Leh, they might have remembered European lamas at Tsaparang till 1640. They seem to have remembered nothing of all this; but then their oblivion was no proof that the Jesuits had been in the third Tibet, and not in the second.

² U-Tsang, Lhasa being the capital in the Province of U, and Shigatze the chief town in the Province of Tsang.

³ What does this represent in Persian? Argun, used at Leh, has been understood by recent travellers to apply to a Christian.

⁴ In his *Notizie Istoriche* (Wessels, photograph facing p. 276), Desideri writes: 'Omitting little Thibet, which is otherwise called Balti-stan, and middle Thibet, which is called by the other name of Lhata-yul, of both of which I have said something in the first Book, I limit myself for the present to giving an account of the third, and Great Thibet, which is the chief of them all.'

'Though the government, the extent and the limits of the first two are different, the manner of governing, the Religion, and the customs of all three are quite the same and common, without difference.'

of that Kingdom reside there, and it is there that the Capuchin Fathers went and are perhaps still; and it is credible (*credibile*) that our Father Andrada was there in olden times. There is a rumour, but I am not sure, that, 10 or 12 years ago, the King of the said third Tibet sent men to the Mogor in search of the Fathers of the Company; for they say that a dress, a bireta and other things of Father Andrada remained there. Those men, not knowing that we resided at Agra, and Delhy, arrived at Surat and gave out that the King of Tibet wanted, as Masters of the true law, the Fathers of the Company. The Capuchin Fathers who are at Surat kept the matter quiet, and, without letting the Company know, went to Tibet,¹ near the said Urzan or Lassa lies Napall; Napall is not far from Patnà, and from Patnà to our College at Agra the journey is very good, and of one month only. If God gives me the grace of arriving there, I shall give your Reverence better information in another

'The third, and chief Thibet, is by us Europeans and in the Persian writings called Thibet absolutely. In the Hendustana, or Mogolese tongue, it is called Butant, which means Country of the Gods, that is of the Idols. In their Maps the Geographers give it various other names, calling it at times Kingdom of the Grand Lamà, or of Lhasà; others call it Ussang, others Barantola. But in the language of this Country, it is called ' (the photograph ends here). At p. 24 of Puini it is called Bodyul; at p. 34, Butan, 'and in the language of this country it is called Po.'

A clear proof that neither Desideri nor Freyre knew that de Andrada had been at Tsaparang, near Totling, in Nari Khorsum. I have not found Tsaparang yet in Desideri's writings.

¹ One of the reasons why Desideri does not feel sure of the rumour is that so far he has not met the King who had invited Jesuits to his dominions. The story is now supposed to have happened in 1705 or 1707; but it ought to have happened earlier, if the Capuchins of Surat kept their counsel to obtain in 1703 that Propaganda should send them to Tibet, where the Jesuits had formerly been. I find no trace of such a story in the history of the Capuchins. We do not understand how a king of Tsaparang or its neighbourhood, or of some other part of the third Tibet, or of Nepal, could have sent men to Surat to discover Jesuits, and that these men did not discover Jesuits at Lahore, Agra, or Delhi. Who then talked of a soutane, a biretta, and other things left in Tibet by Fr. de Andrada? Yet, there was such a story, as we found in Desideri's letter from Surat, Dec. 30, 1713 (No. 4); it existed in 1706, as we noticed in note 6 of our introduction. Was the story invented at Surat to explain to the Jesuits how the Capuchins happened to have been sent to Tibet? One of the Capuchins sent to Tibet in 1704 was Fr. Francis Mary of Tours. He had been many years at Surat, had gone about 1701 to Pondicherry, had there taken information about the methods of the Jesuits and their Malabar rites, and gone over to Rome, where he was in 1703. He published a tract against the Malabar rites and the Jesuits at Liege, and the Jesuits were suspected of having got him away from Rome to Tibet, to be rid of him. If Fr. Francis Mary of Tours was suspected of having ousted the Jesuits from Tibet, the whole story of the embassy, and de Andrada's biretta may have been invented by imaginative parishioners of the Capuchins at Surat. Had the story not been a mere suspicion on the part of some Jesuits in India, might they not have made bold to ask the Capuchins point-blank what ground there was for it?

letter.¹ Bengala is not very far from the third Tibet, and the road is good, and the Capuchin Fathers went from there.²

In conclusion, casting myself at Your Paternity's feet, I beg of you to excuse the trouble I give you by asking you to recommend me, with all the efficacy of your most fervent soul, to God in your Holy Sacrifices and Prayers, and to give me finally your holy blessing.

Leh, in the second of the 3 Tibets.

Your Most Reverend Paternity's
Very unworthy and least servant and subject,
Ippolito Desideri.

8. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, S.J. (Lhasa, April 10, 1716).

For this translation I have used to some extent the work of C. Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet* 2nd edn., London, 1879, pp. 302-308, but I have restored the original spelling of the proper names as in *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, Paris, 1781, tome XII, pp. 430-445, and have made the translation more literal. I also show the pagination as in the tome of the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* just indicated.

Fr. Desideri writes of this letter, as published in *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*:

'In the XVth small volume of the same collection there is a letter of mine, which, when I had arrived at the capital of the third Tibet, I wrote in Italian to Father Grassi, giving him a short account of my journey. I take this opportunity to remark that in it the date and time of our arrival and of our departure from Kascimir must be corrected; but that is not the chief point I wish to draw attention to now; I want to remark that in the said Letter I myself made a mistake about two very important and essential points, which I represented very differently from what I have declared in the Relation. Speaking of the second

¹ From Leh to Lhasa the journey was performed on horseback. The Fathers had 7 horses: two of these were for the Fathers; 4 others were used by 3 Christian servants and a gentile interpreter; only two horses reached Lhasa; and one of these was in a pitiable state; the other died shortly after the arrival. (Puini, 52. 53.)

² Desideri calculates that, leaving Rome in October 1728 for Port Louis in Lower Brittany, and embarking there in January or the beginning of February, 1729, one will arrive at Lhasa only in April or May 1730, or after a year and a half; leaving Rome in November 1728 for Portugal one will arrive at Goa about the middle of September 1729; going by Surat, Agra, Patna, one will leave Patna in December 1730, and reach Lhasa not earlier than April 1731, or a year later than by the first route. (Puini, 81.) The French ships called regularly at Chandernagore.

Tibet, or Lhata-yul, and of the religion there current, I said first that those people do not admit metempsychosis, but believe that the wicked go to Hell and the good to Heaven; secondly, that they seemed to have some knowledge of God and of the Most Holy Trinity. On these two points I made a gross mistake, and erred greatly in the understanding of both.' (Puini, 186.)

This letter is so similar in many things, choice of details and disposition of the matter, to the previous one, that I am of opinion that he took with him to Lhasa the previous letter, written from Leh, and used it for the composition of the present letter.

(P. 430) A letter from Father Ippolito Desideri, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Father Ildebrando Grassi,¹ a Missionary of the same Society, in the Kingdom of Maissur.²

At Lhasa, April 10, 1716.

Reverend Father,—The peace of our Lord be with you. Having been appointed to the Tibet Mission, I left Goa on the 20th of November, 1713,³ and arrived at Surat on the 4th of January, 1714.⁴ Being compelled to sojourn here awhile, I took advantage of my leisure to learn Persian. On the 26th of March,⁵ I set out for Delly, where I arrived on the 11th of May,⁶ and where I found Father Manuel Freyre, who had been appointed to the same Mission as myself.⁷ On the 23rd of September⁸ we together began our journeys towards Tibet. We went by way of Lahor, which we reached on the 10th of October,⁹ and (P. 431) where we had the pious satisfaction of administering the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist to some Christians, who were bereft of Pastors. We left Lahor on the 19th of October,¹⁰ and in the course of a few days reached the foot of the Caucasus.

The Caucasus is a long range, consisting of remarkably steep and lofty mountains. After crossing one mountain, you encounter a second still higher; this is in turn succeeded by a third, higher than either of the two former ones; and the higher

¹ 'The companion of Desideri's travels from Rome to Goa in 1712; he was born at Bologna in 1683 and became a Jesuit at Rome, January 23, 1699. After working in the Mysore Mission, he died at Pondicherry, May 22, 1731.' (Wessels, p. 207 n. 4.)

² Mysore.

³ Cp. note 1 to Letter No. 7.

⁴ Cp. note 1 to Letter No. 4.

⁵ Cp. note 6 to Letter No. 7.

⁶ Cp. note 8 to Letter No. 7.

⁷ 'Who had been appointed' can be used against my theory at note 9 of Letter 7.

⁸ Cp. note 11 to Letter No. 7.

⁹ Cp. note 12 to Letter No. 7.

¹⁰ Cp. note 13 to Letter No. 7.

you mount, the more you have to mount, till you reach the highest of all, named *Pir-Pangial*.¹

The Gentiles hold this mountain in great awe; they bring offerings to it, and in their superstition worship a venerable old man, whom they believe to be guardian of that place. Here-in is doubtless contained a reminiscence of the fable of Prometheus, who, according to the poets, was bound in chains to the Caucasus.²

The summit of the highest mountains is always covered with snow and ice. We took twelve days to traverse these mountains on foot, (P. 432) crossing with incredible difficulty impetuous torrents, which, formed by the melting of the snow, dash down with extreme violence amid rocks and boulders. The torrents which we had ever and anon to stem, and the rocks, made it an extremely difficult business to get across, and often was I compelled to hang on by the tail of a bullock passing at the same time as myself, to avoid being carried away by the force of the stream. I do not speak of the extreme cold I had to suffer, through not having taken the precaution to obtain clothing suitable for so rude a climate.

This country of mountains, though in other respects so awful, is pleasing in several places through the number and variety of its trees, the fertility of the soil, and the different races which inhabit it. Some petty States here are dependent on the Mogol. The roads are not everywhere so impracticable for a horseman or for a *giampan*, a sort of palanquin.³

On the 10th of March⁴ we arrived at Kaschemire.⁵ The enormous quantity of snow (P. 433) which falls during winter, and which absolutely closes up the passes, obliged us to remain there for six months. An illness, apparently caused by the first hardships I had undergone, reduced me to the last extremity. I did not fail in continuing my study of Persian, and in making inquiries respecting Tibet; but, though I took every pains, I could then learn only about two Tibets. One extends from the north to the west, and is called Little Tibet, or Baltistan. It is a few days' journey from Kaschemire, and its inhabitants and the princes governing it are Mahomettans and tributaries of the Mogol. However fertile this country may be, it is sure to be barren as far as preachers of the Gospel are concerned; for a long experience had taught us only too surely to expect but little fruit in countries where rules the impious sect of Mahomet.

¹ The Himalayas.

² Cp. text, and note 15 to Letter No. 7.

³ Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Jompon (Hindi: *jānpān*, *japān*, also *jhampān*, *jhāpān*, Bengali: *jhāmpān*, *jhāpān*), a portable chair; where our passage in Desideri is given as containing the oldest use of the word.

⁴ Markham notes rightly that March appears to be a mistake for November. The date is Nov. 13 (Puini, 6), or Nov. 12 (Puini, 362).

⁵ Srinagar.

The other Tibet, which is called Great Tibet, or *Buton*,¹ extends from the north to the east, and is a little farther from Kaschemire. The route thither is pretty well frequented by caravans, which go every year in quest of wool, and as a rule runs through defiles. The first six or (P. 434) seven days, the journey is not very trying; but, as one goes on travelling, it becomes very difficult, through the wind, the snow, and the excessive rigour of the biting frosts, to which must be added having to rest at night on the bare ground, and at times on snow and ice.

Great Tibet begins at the summit of an awful snow-clad mountain, called *Kantel*.² One side of the mountain belongs to Kaschemire, and the other to Tibet. We left Kaschemire on the 17th of May, 1715,³ and on the 30th, the feast of Our Lord's Ascension,⁴ we crossed this mountain, that is to say, we entered Tibet. Much snow had fallen on the path, which winds between mountains, as far as *Leh* (otherwise called *Ladak*, the fortress where the king resides), which are the very picture of desolation, horror, and death itself. They are piled one a top of another, and so close as scarcely to leave room for the torrents which course impetuously from their heights, and (P. 435) dash with such deafening noise against the rocks as to stun and appal the stoutest traveller. Above and at their foot the mountains are equally impassable; you are therefore forced to make your way about half-way down the slope, and the path, as a rule, is so narrow as barely to leave room for you to set down your feet; this obliges you to pick your way with extreme care. A false step, and you are precipitated down the abyss with the loss of your life, or at least with broken limbs, as befell some of our fellow-travellers. Were there bushes, you might cling by them; but these mountains are so barren that neither plants nor even a blade of grass grows thereon. Would you wish to cross from one mountain to another, you must pass over the foaming torrents between, and there is no bridge, save some narrow, unsteady planks, or some ropes stretched across and interwoven with green branches. Often you are obliged to take off your shoes in order to get a better foothold. I assure you that I shudder still at the bare remembrance of these dreadful passages. (P. 436) The difficulty of the roads is not the only inconvenience; you must add to it the sharpest cold, furious

¹ Bhutan.

² 'According to Vigne, the summit of Bultul (Zojila pass) is the Mount Kantul, of the old map. It is north-east of Srinagar (Kashmir), on the road to Baltistan (Little Tibet).'—(Note by Markham.)

³ Desideri protests in the text we quoted in our introduction to this Letter that the date of departure, May 17, 1715, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* is wrong; but we find no other date in several passages of Desideri's other writings. Cp. text of Letter No. 7 and note 19 there.

⁴ Cp. note 22 to Letter No. 7.

winds, abundant snows, the necessity of sleeping on the ground exposed to the inclemency of such a rough climate, and of eating only flour made from *sattu*,¹ which is a kind of barley. The people of the country eat it unprepared; but we generally made a broth of it, and it was no small thing for us to get enough wood to cook it.

One's eyes are terribly tired with the reflection of the sun's rays from the snow, which dazzles and nearly blinds them. I was obliged to bandage mine, and admit only just enough light to see my way. Then, every second day or so, we encountered customs-officers, who, not content with demanding the usual dues, exacted all they pleased and by any right they fancied.

In these mountainous provinces there are no large towns. There is no particular coinage, that of the Mogol being chiefly used; each piece of money is worth five Roman Giuglii. Trading (P. 437) is usually carried on by exchange of goods. The journey from Kaschemire to *Ladak* we made on foot, and it lasted forty days, so that we reached the last-named place only on the 25th of June.² The kingdom of the second Tibet begins, as I have already remarked, at Mount *Kantel*, and extends north-eastwards. There is only one *Ghiampo*,³ or sovereign ruler; the present one is called *Nima Nangial*,⁴ and he has a tributary king below him. The first races one meets are Mahomettans; the others are Gentiles, less superstitious than in the other idolatrous countries.

Here is what I learnt of the Tibetan religion. They call God *Konciok*, and they appear to have some notion of the adorable Trinity, for at times they call him *Konciokcik* (one God), at other times *Konciok-sum* (trine God). They use a kind of chaplet, over which they repeat these words: *Om, ha, hum*. This they explain by saying that *Om* signifies knowledge or an arm, that is, power; *ha* is the word, and *hum* is the heart or love, and that these three words mean God. They also worship a being (P. 438) called *Urgkien*, who, so they say, was born seven hundred years ago. When asked if he be God or man, some reply that he is both God and man, that he had neither father nor mother, but that he was born of a flower. Nevertheless they have statues representing a woman with a flower in her hand, and her they call the mother of *Urgkien*. Several other personages do they worship and treat as saints. In their churches you may

¹ 'A *chenopodium*, something like the *quinua* of Peru. It is cultivated at heights of more than 5,000 feet, chiefly for its grain, but the leaves are also used as a pot-herb. (See "Punjab Plants" by J. L. Stewart, M.D., Lahore, 1869, p. 179.)'—Note by Markham, who read *battu*, and omitted some lines.

² Cp. note 26 to Letter 7.

³ Markham writes Gyampo. We have Gyalpo in Letter No. 7.

⁴ Nima Nimghial in Letter No. 7.

see an altar covered with a cloth and ornaments; in the middle of the altar is a kind of tabernacle, wherein, they say, *Urghien* dwells, though on the other hand they assert he is in Heaven.¹

The Tibetans have Religious, called *Lamas*. They are clad in a uniform different from that of the laymen; they neither plait their hair nor carry ear-rings, as other men, but wear a tonsure like our Religious, and have to observe perpetual celibacy. Their occupation is to study the books of the law, which are written in a tongue and in characters differing from those ordinarily in use. They recite certain (P. 439) prayers in chorus (*en manière de chœur*); and theirs it is to celebrate rites, to present offerings in the temples, and to light the sacred lamps there. They offer up to God wheat, barley, paste and water, in little vessels of scrupulous cleanliness. When an offering has been made, the remainder of the food is eaten as if it were consecrated. The *lamas* are greatly respected; as a rule, they live together, shut out from all profane intercourse; they have local superiors, and also a general superior, whom the King himself treats with great veneration.²

The King and many of his court looked upon us as *lamas* of the faith of Jesus Christ, who had come from Europe. When they saw us reciting our prayers, they were curious to see what books we were reading, and they eagerly inquired the meaning of the various pictures therein contained. After having carefully examined them, some of them said among themselves, '*Nuru*', that is, 'very good'. They added two things: Firstly, that their book is very like ours, which I cannot believe; what appears more certain to me is that, though several of them (P. 440) may know how to read their mysterious books, not one can explain them. Secondly, they often said: 'Oh! if you knew our language, or if we understood yours, what pleasure it would give us to hear you expound your religion!' This proves that these peoples would be rather well disposed to relish the Christian truths.³

The Tibetans are gentle and docile in character, but uncultivated and coarse. There are neither arts nor sciences among them, though they are not wanting in intelligence. They have no communications with other nations; no sort of meat is forbidden to them; they do not hold the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and do not practise polygamy; three points in which they differ from idolatrous natives of India.⁴

As you may have learnt from what I have said, the climate is very severe, and winter prevails nearly all the year round. The mountain tops are always covered with snow; the soil yields

¹ Cp. Letter No. 7 for the whole of this paragraph; *Urghien* was born about 1,700 years before (Puini, 365; in Letter No. 7).

² Same remark.

³ Same remark.

⁴ Same remark.

only wheat and barley, trees, fruits, and vegetables being rarely seen. The houses are small, narrow, and built of stones piled in rude fashion one above the other. They use nothing (P. 441) but woollen stuffs for their clothes.¹ From the time that we are at *Ladak* we have had no other lodging but the hut of a poor man from Kaschemire who lives on charity.²

Two days after our arrival we went to call on the *Lompo*,³ who is next in rank to the King, and commonly called his right arm. On the 2nd of July we had our first audience of the King himself, who received us seated on his throne. On the 4th and 8th we were again summoned to his presence and he then treated us more familiarly. On the 6th we paid our respects to the Grand *Lama*.⁴ He was accompanied by several other *Lamas*, one of whom is a son of the *Lompo*, and another a near relative of the King. They received us most honourably, and presented us with some refreshments, as is the custom of the country.

These honours and tokens of friendship did not, however, prevent our being disquieted by them. The wool trade serves to draw many Mahomettans from Kaschemire to *Ladak*. Some of these, prompted either by jealousy or hatred of the name Christian, told the King and his ministers that we were rich merchants, with pearls, diamonds, rubies, (P. 442) divers precious stones, and other valuable commodities in our possession. An officer of the court came to our lodgings; everything was opened before him, and the report he made thereon excited the King's curiosity. His Majesty ordered to be brought unto him the basket and the leather bag, in which we carried our small effects such as linen, books, sundry writings, some instruments for self-mortification, chaplets, and medals. The King examined everything, and then openly declared that it gave him greater pleasure to inspect goods of this sort than to see pearls and rubies.⁵

Affairs in this state, and I was thinking of tarrying in a country where I had resolved to suffer whatever it might please Providence to inflict upon me; I was even in the highest degree overjoyed at having a settled state, where I could labour towards the salvation of men's souls; I was already beginning to learn the language, with the hope of seeing my teaching bring forth some day, even among these barren rocks of Tibet,

¹ Same remark.

² A new detail. The use of the present indicative would show that the letter was partly written at Leh, and continued at Lhasa. It is less likely that two letters have been made into one. In the first case, we understand better the similarities with Letter No. 7, and but, if Letter No. 7 had been despatched from Leh, why was not the present letter?

³ *Lampò* in Letter No. 7.

⁴ Cp. note 42 to Letter No. 7.

⁵ In Letter 7, this inspection is said to have taken place the day after the first visit to the King; therefore, on July 3.

fruit acceptable in the sight of the Divine Majesty, when we learnt that there was a third Tibet. After several consultations, it was decided, against my wish, that we should go (P. 443) thither and discover it. The journey takes usually from about six to seven months,¹ and the route lies through countries of deserted aspect, and scantily peopled. This third Tibet is more exposed to the incursions of the border Tatars than the other two Tibets.

We left *Ladak*, therefore, on the 17th of August, 1715,² (32) and we arrived at *Lassa*, whence I have the honour to address you, on the 18th of March, 1716.³ I leave you to imagine what I had to suffer during this journey, what with snow, ice, and the excessive cold of these mountains. Shortly after our arrival, certain tribunals of the country occasioned us a good deal of annoyance. Thanks to God, this storm was appeased in the following manner. I was passing by the palace to attend one of the tribunals, when the King, who was seated in a balcony with one of his ministers, happened to be informed who I was.⁴ Our case had been made known to this minister, who is a thoroughly just and equitable man, and he took occasion to represent to the prince the wrong that was being done to us.⁵ The King immediately summoned me to his presence, and gave orders that we should be no more troubled.

A few days after I called upon (P. 444) the minister referred to, and he good-naturedly rebuked me for not having yet presented myself to the King. I excused myself on the ground that the custom of the country did not allow people to approach those in authority without making them some present, and that I had nothing worthy of so great a Prince's acceptance. My excuse, though genuine, was not listened to. I was obliged to obey and repair to the palace. More than a hundred people of consequence were awaiting audience in the hall. Two officers

¹ In Letter 7 (Leh, Aug. 5, 1715) Desideri speaks of 3 months (four, if travelling is slow). As he took himself 7 months (Aug. 17, 1715–March 18, 1716) to cover the distance to Lhasa, it would seem that he added at Lhasa this passage about a 6 or 7 months' journey.

² 27 Aug., 1715 (Puini, 8. 11); 17 Aug. (Puini, 25, 32; Wessels, 214, 215).

³ March 18, 1716 (Puini, 8. 50).

⁴ It is evident that Frs. Desideri and Freyre were recognised as Europeans wherever they went and declared themselves such at Lhasa. They were recognised as European Padres at Leh, and the passports they received there up to Tescij-Khang must have described them as such (Puini, 33). The Tartar princess in whose company they travelled from Tescij-khang or Cartoa (Gartok) up to Shigatze could not be unaware of their being Europeans. See besides Puini, p. 62, and the explanation of *Gokarki Lamar*, *ibid.*, p. 299.

⁵ 'On arriving at Lhasa, he was requested to pay a sum of 120 rupees, due to the Cartoa (Gartok) custom house, but he was left off on entering a protest.' (Wessels, 220 n. 4.)

took down their names, according to custom, and carried the paper to the King, who immediately gave orders for my admittance together with a great *Lama*. The *Lama's* present was a considerable one, while mine was quite insignificant; nevertheless, that of the *Lama* was deposited at the entrance, according to custom, while the King ordered mine to be brought to him, and, to show how pleased he was with it, he kept it by him. This in this court is considered an exceptional mark of favour. He made me sit down opposite to him and quite close, and for the space of two hours plied me with innumerable questions, without speaking a word to the others present. At last, having spoken in commendation of me, he bade me good-bye. (P. 445) On several occasions after my first visit I strove to take advantage of the King's kindly disposition and to discourse of our holy religion, and of the mission I wished to undertake in his kingdom, but unfortunately I had no opportunity of doing this. This monarch is of Tartar race, and some years ago he conquered this country, which is not very far from China, for it takes only four months to travel hence to Peking. Not long since, an envoy came thence, and he has since returned to Peking.

Having given you, Reverend Father, this brief account of my travels, and of what happened since my arrival in the capital of the third Thibet, it only remains for me to entreat the aid of your prayers, as I do insistingly. After so many painful travels, I need them sorely to sustain me in the labour of the ministry to which the divine goodness has called me, all unworthy though I be. In the hope of sharing in the blessings of your holy sacrifices, I have the honour to be, etc.¹

Ippolito Desideri.

¹ Not a word is said of the time of Fr. Freyre's departure from Lhasa. Probably, this letter was taken to Mogor by Fr. Freyre. Not a word either is heard in this letter and the previous ones of three Christian servants and an interpreter who accompanied the Fathers from Srinagar on May 17, 1715. (Cf. Wessels, 211.) These three Christians and the non-Christian interpreter continued from Tescij-Khang to Lhasa. (Puini, 52.)

'The other Father, my companion, having been accustomed for many years to reside in warm countries, was unable to resist the extreme cold and great subtilty of the air in a country so entirely different; hence, after resting some days at Lhasa he resumed his journey in another direction, (p. 51) returning to Hendustan by the shorter and more frequented route of Nepal. And so, I remained alone for some time, the only missionary, the only European, in the entire territory, in the immense extent of the three Thibets.' (Puini, 50-51.)

Freyre's name reappears in the Mogor catalogue of December 1718, and November 1719. On the first date he is placed at Delhi. His name no longer appears in the Mogor catalogues of Dec. 1724, Nov. 1727, etc.

9. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717).¹

(P. 370) Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,

At the end of July, last year, by way of Goa and Portugal I wrote lengthily to your Paternity about my journey from Goa up to this third and chief Tibet, my remaining alone in this Tibet, and what had occurred till the end of the (P. 371) said month.

On the 9th of August, 1716, the chief Minister of the King, a Tartar, summoned me in the King's name to the Palace, and this is what happened to me on that occasion concerning the object of the Mission. I was asked for what express purpose I had come to this Kingdom and had remained in it. I answered that I had come solely to teach them and preach to them the Holy Faith. Then I was asked how many years I was going to remain in this Kingdom, I answered that, if they embraced the Holy Faith, I should remain here till my death. I was then told that they wished in everything to be well informed about our Holy Faith; and so, I was ordered to remain in this Kingdom and to continue studying carefully the language. These points settled, I was given many great, urgent, nay importunate proofs of the King's liberality; but, with God's help, I was always firm and unshaken in giving ever one and the same answer, to wit: that I coveted none of their honour, none of their greatnesses, none of their riches, in a word, no personal temporal advantage, but only the glory of God and their eternal salvation. They gave me a hard fight on this point; but the loving Jesus kept my heart very firm. Thus ended the audience, which for the said two points lasted 23 hours.²

¹ Cf. Puini, pp. 370-376. This letter is also in the *Sommario* of the case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in Thibet.

² A full account of the interview appears in the Relation (Puini, 62. 63), where the name of the generalissimo, ten-drup-cê-ring is misspelt Fan-drup-ze-ring. We translate the entire passage.

³ A few days after our arrival at Lhasa, I was called to the Palace by order of the king. I went and was introduced to a Tartar noble, called Fan-drup-ze-ring, the king's commander-in-chief over all the forces in the kingdom. Having received me with great politeness and obliging manners, he asked me in the king's name where I came from, what was my quality, condition and profession; for what reason or on what business I had come to those parts and to that court; finally, how long I intended staying there. I answered I had come from distant countries, separated from them, not only by countless vast countries; but also by immense expanses of sea; I had come from the West to that extremity of the East, from Europe to Thibet. As regards my condition and quality, I was religious; as regards my profession, I was in religion a Lamà, whose obligation and office it was to guide others in the right path of religion; I was actually employed and bestirring myself in trying, with all my might, to draw those in error from the paths into which they had gone astray, and to bring them to our holy Law, it being the only true and lawful path, out of which there was no way leading to Heaven and eternal salvation. As

On another occasion, in the same place and in a similar audience,¹ I was asked the difference between our law and theirs. I did not venture to answer such delicate topics by word of mouth *ex professo* and in public, so long as I had not made a very perfect and prolonged study of the language, and so I pledged myself to explain the whole thing little by little in different books, in which one can speak more diffusely and tread more securely. They told me to write and then to show them what

for the object and business for which I had come to these countries, and had repaired to that Court, it was precisely the thing of which I had told him. I was sure that they were in extreme error, and had but too lamentably strayed from the right path; I was not ignorant that, in their wretched plight, they had no one to show them the snares they were entangled in, no one to point out to them the precipices down which they were falling headlong to their irreparable doom. Hence, from countries so remote, from one end of the world to the other, across vast seas and over long tracts of land, despite long and painful journeys, despite toils, horrors and dangers, had I come, for no other object, with no other intention, but that of being able to dissipate with the light of evangelic truth the thick darkness of the gloomy night of ignorance and error which had until then, and for so long, enveloped them and their countries. In fine, with these and other like expressions, I made him understand that I had come to Thibet for no other purpose than to establish a mission there, teach our holy faith and draw to it and guide in it whoever wished to embrace it. Finally, as regards the length of time I was going to stay there, I answered that, as far as depended on my will and intention, since my object was so hard, so laborious and so universal, (p. 63) unless the king's authority or the orders of my superiors came in the way, I wished for nothing else than to continue the enterprise in hand until my death, and not only to end my life in it, but resolutely to give my life for it.

'With the help of God, my answers made a good impression on the heart of the generalissimo. With loving expressions of gratitude and satisfaction, he cheered me, saying that not only should I not meet with opposition in my undertaking, but the King and the whole court would willingly hear what I could tell them about so grand, just, and important a matter. Then, after other most courteous compliments and loving assurances of his friendship and protection, he gave me leave, and, going to the king, explained to him faithfully and minutely the whole tenor of my answers.'

There was an interview with the generalissimo a few days after March 18, 1716 (Puini, 62. 63); an interview with one of the king's familiars, on April 28 (Puini, 63); on May 1, he presented to the king, 'two cordial stones, called Gasper' Antonio Stones, a pod (*cocco*) of Brasile balsam, and a small vessel of apoplectic balsam.' Each article had an inscription in Thibetan, showing its virtues and the manner of using it. On this occasion he asked and obtained the king's permission for freely exercising his office of Apostolic Missionary (Puini, 63). Instead of *due pietre cordiali, chiamate Pietze di Gaspar' Antonio*, Fr. Wessels (p. 224) has: 'due Pietri di Belzoar di Goa.'

'On the 29th of April and the 1st of May, 1716, I made known in the king's public audience that I had come to make a Mission and to teach the Holy Law of Jesus Christ, and on the 10th of August, 1716, in the Royal Palace I received, not only the mission, but the order, to teach the Holy Law, and to remain here for the purpose.' (Letter No. 15.) Does Desideri not give wrongly here the date of Aug. 9 to the interview of April 29 and May 1?

¹ Was not this the interview of Aug. 9, 1716?

I had written; for they would examine it with pleasure. Trusting in God's help, I accepted the task very willingly, and with a lively desire of the glory of the most amiable Jesus.

At the beginning of September, I was invited to go for three or four days to a garden, or palace, of the King's. That day was a Thursday; and, as it was well known that it was my custom (for, being then alone, I had no convenience for saying or hearing Mass) to spend the whole of Friday in retirement in my Chapel, I excused myself for the whole of Friday and Saturday. On Sunday morning, I went, accompanied by people from the court who had been sent to conduct me. That day I was examined concerning the progress I had made in the language; I was made to read in public, and explain; after that various points pertaining to the law were discussed; before that, and in the course of it, I was twice given a repast. Finally, when I had seen all the sights of the Palace and of the (P. 372) Garden and place, I returned home in the evening.

In the months of June, July and August, to distract myself from my uninterrupted application to the study of the language, I had kept composing every day for some hours two booklets in Italian.¹ In the first, I refute the widespread error that everyone can be saved in his law, and I show that there is but one road to salvation, all the rest leading to perdition. In the second, I refute the transmigration of the Good (*de Buoni*). On the 8th of September I started by myself to translate into his language the first of my said two booklets, and, to make it still more attractive, I did it in Tibetan verse.

On the first of October there arrived here three Capuchin Fathers sent by Propaganda.² Having had beforehand news of their arrival, I went to meet them outside, and conducted them to my house, or rather to my room;³ there I received them, and there we lived all four of us till about the middle of October. I tried to treat them as well as the quality of these countries and my poverty allowed. However, they got the rent

¹ These two booklets in Italian are not mentioned by Fr. Wessels as at present in the possession of the Society.

² Frs. Domenico of Fano, a physician, who had gone to Lhasa at the end of 1709, or the beginning of 1710; returned to Bengal, 1711; went to Rome, 1713; appointed Prefect of the Mission, 1714; returned with 6 others; back in Bengal, end of Aug. 1715; set out from Nepal for Lhasa, Aug. 4, 1716, with Fr. Orazio della Penna di Billi, who had arrived at Chandernagore on Sept. 1, 1713, and had been sent to Nepal in December 1714; the third man appears to have been Fr. Giovanni Francesco of Fossombrone, a physician, who had arrived in Bengal with Fr. Orazio della Penna.

³ Though foreigners could only rent houses, Desideri was allowed to buy a large house, well situated, near the great square, on the famous Kora road, on the South side (Puini, 180). Desideri may have learned at a later date, when passing through Patna in 1725, that the Capuchins were allowed by 'the present Great Lamà' to buy a plot of land for their hospice on the N.E. side of Lhasa (Puini, 180).

of other rooms contiguous to mine and within the same house. There we live with exemplary uniformity in all things, and with mutual and more than fraternal charity. I do not fail to help them in everything I can, especially in teaching them the language; and they surpass me not only in courtesy, but in excesses of courtesy. Hence, I humbly beseech Your Paternity to be so good as to send some Father there in Rome to thank their Father Procurator General, from whom they depend; besides, I have the boldness to beg of Your Paternity to be so kind as to send them some words of thanks through the said Father Procurator General; for they well deserve it.

The said Fathers have with them a decree of Propaganda, passed some 60 years ago, by I do not know what Sovereign Pontiff, in which it is forbidden under Ecclesiastical penalties *etiam patribus Societatis* (also to the Fathers of the Society), to establish themselves where there are already Missionaries of another Religion sent by Propaganda.¹ The Father Prefect of the said Capuchin Fathers has not had the courage to present that Decree to me; nay, on learning in Nepal that the Company had arrived here,² he was on the point of not coming, and from the Kingdom of Nepal he informed Rome asking *quid agendum* (what was to be done);³ and he came with the intent that, if he found me at all punctilious or with any pretensions to priority, he would at once go back with his Companions. Therefore, on behalf of the Company, I show every mark of respect to the Missionaries of the Holy Faith,⁴ just as I wish them to do everywhere towards the Company. The said Fathers wishing to celebrate Holy Mass on the feast of St. Francis,⁵ were so good as (P. 373) to show me their letters-patent, with much humility.⁶ Granting the said Decree, the doubt may arise which can lay claim to having been first in this Mission, the Capuchin Fathers, or the Company, and whether, on the strength of the Said Decree and with no other reasons to the contrary, they are liable to incur the said Ecclesiastical penalties, or I. On the side of the Capuchin Fathers this may militate in their favour that, although they quite abandoned this Tibet in 1712,⁷ yet several of them were here for some

¹ It was a decree of Jan. 15, 1656. Cf. our section 12.

² Fr. Freyre must have met the Capuchins in Nepal, on his way back to Agre.

³ This letter is therefore anterior to Aug. 4, 1716, when Domenico of Fano set out from Nepal for Tibet.

⁴ Sent by the Congregation de Propaganda *Fide*.

⁵ Oct. 4.

⁶ As if asking Desideri's permission. Their reason was that they were in Desideri's house.

⁷ In Letter 15, Desideri gives 1711 as the date of the Capuchins' departure from Lhasa. Different writers oscillate between 1711 and 1712, and we have not so far any authoritative proof to decide which date is correct.

years. On the side of the Company what favours us is that, on the 7th of September 1715, when we entered this Tibet, and on the 18th of March 1716, when we arrived at this Capital, there was not in the whole of this Tibet a single Missionary of Propaganda, and that, on the 1st of October 1716, when the aforesaid Missionaries, that is the said three Capuchin Fathers, arrived here, the Company had already been *in actu* and alone in this Mission for a year and 24 days.¹ On that account, though I have heard there is such a decree, I have been loth to abandon this Mission of my own accord, but have written repeatedly to the Father Provincial of Goa, since I depend on his Instructions, and chiefly on those of Your Most Reverend Paternity, and I am not my own master. Moreover, not only have I been unwilling to abandon this Mission of my own accord, but I have thought that, in conscience, I neither must nor may abandon it on any account, considering that, by such special favour of God, I am actually so well fixed, so well employed, and have so far progressed with the affairs of the Holy Faith and my writings concerning it. I do not speak for my own sake: for I am *aes sonans et cymbalum tinniens* (sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal);² I am *Miser et miserabilis* (wretched and miserable);³ I am but a fire-brand saved by the Divine Mercy from the fire of hell; but I speak *ut honorificetur in omnibus et ab omnibus Deus* (that in all things and by all God may be honoured),⁴ who is *mirabilis in consiliis suis qui infirma mundi eligit* (wonderful in his counsels, who chooseth the weak things of the world)⁵ in order to make the infinite power of his Divine greatness shine out the brighter. The different Capuchin Fathers who were here during several years did not succeed in making it known that they had come for the purpose of preaching and of teaching the Holy Faith, as I know for sure and am ready to swear, if necessary, and as they themselves (at least those here in Tibet) confess.⁶ I do not say this to cast a slur on the zeal of the Capuchin Fathers, because it was the fault of those who tried to frighten and impede them, as I also discovered at once.⁷ But, glory to Jesus, *Deus est et quis resistet ei* (God is, and who will resist Him?).⁸ Considering all the above things, and not knowing what to do, I have thought that, to enlighten the Congregation of Propaganda and to justify and forearm myself and the Company, it would be good to write the enclosed

¹ He calculates from Sept. 7, 1715.

² 1 Cor. 13. 1.

³ Apoc. 3. 17.

⁴ 1 Pet. 4. 11.

⁵ 1 Cor. 1. 27.

⁶ How could Fr. Desideri have proved this?

⁷ Does he mean that the Lhasa officials tried to frighten him away soon after his arrival?

⁸ Cp. Job 9. 4.

(P. 374) letter to the Sovereign Pontiff,¹ who, I hope, will be pleased with it; hence, I beg your Paternity to present it or have it presented to him, excusing me for the quality of the paper, since the Mission and the great distance where I am allows only this and no more.²

As for news. In the middle of October, after I had satisfied the dictates of Hospitality towards the Fathers, I took up again and continued the translation of the first of the aforesaid two booklets and finished it in the beginning of November. The whole of November I retouched it, and copied it neatly. The whole of December I had it revised and copied nicely, and for all the rest, running into the necessary expense, I put it in order. On the 6th of January,³ after saying and applying Holy Mass to that intention, I went to the royal Palace with the three Capuchin Fathers,⁴ where, after other necessary expenses, we were introduced with very great solemnity to an Audience from the King in the great and magnificent royal hall. There assisted at it a very large assembly of persons from the Lamma's Court (that is their Priests and Religious, who are at the same time Doctors), and of other people. The King made us sit down opposite him, after he had first received (according to the custom of Asia) the offering of my present and at the same time taken into his hand my book, which I presented; after that, he made us drink the Cià.⁵ Then, untying and opening the book⁶ with his own hands, he did the honour of asking me, although he already knew that I had myself written and translated it, who had composed and translated it. I answered I had done it myself, without help from anyone. He next asked me who had put it in verse. I replied that it was my own work. After that he asked how much longer I wished to remain in the Kingdom. I answered, till my death; which caused much emotion in the whole gathering. Then he asked who was my Deutà,⁷ that is, my God. I answered that I acknowledge and adore only the true God, the Creator of all things. 'How many Gods are there?' he asked. 'Only one God,' I answered, 'one in essence and Three in Persons.' 'How are the three divine

¹ Desideri says in Letter 15 (Kuti, Sept. 21, 1721 that he knows for certain that his letter of Febr. 1717 to the Pope, and the present letter to the General reached their destination in 1718.

² The oblong pages on which Desideri wrote some of his MSS. (cf. Wessels, pp. 274-275) must have been Tibet paper.

³ 6th January 1717.

⁴ Between January 6, 1717, and June 1717 one of the three Capuchin Fathers, apparently Fr. John Francis of Fossombrone, went to settle at Takpo, where he could obtain wine for the needs of his companions at Lhasa.

⁵ Tea.

⁶ The untying shows that the book was covered with wooden boards, as the style of binding is in Tibet.

⁷ *Devatā*: god.

Persons called?' he asked; and, after hearing my answer, taking occasion of the name of the Holy Ghost, he started at once of his own accord (for you must know that he is a man of much intelligence and great ability) to make several objections against the absolute immateriality and incorporeity of God, and he listened to my answers to the said arguments, and how God, being of his nature quite incorporeal, took a human body and became true Man for man's sake, for our salvation. After that, he himself read the whole dedication of the Book; it contained a eulogium, also in verse, of the king himself; and, after that he proceeded and read a good portion of the first Chapter. (P. 375) Then, handing the Book to one of his Lamma's and making him read from it, he started making different arguments in defence of the devilish error of transmigration, having asked me before how often I had been born and reborn. He also heard my answers to each of his arguments; after which, he continued to have the Book read; and, while I remained paying attention, noon came, when a signal was given and the Audience was dismissed, the King having heard and spoken to no one else.

A few days later, he called for me several times to question me on the important point whether, the one road of salvation excepted, all the rest led to eternal damnation, and he inquired a great deal whether this was indeed to be understood of all. Some days after, the above-said Tartar Minister sent me word that the King keeps my Book near him, continues to read it, and discusses what he reads. I have placed the matter in God's hands. *Ejus voluntas fiat* (His will be done).¹ At present, things have remained in suspense on account of the festivities of their new year,² and shortly he will go personally to war against another King.³ *Fiat voluntas Dei* (God's will be done).

For the last month, owing to my past labours, I have been somewhat troubled in health, and my Master is in prison for heavy debts.⁴ In the beginning of March, or sooner, I shall resume the study of the language and of Tibetan Books, and, this year, I hope with God's help to arrange a Doctrine,⁵ a Grammar, and a Dictionary,⁶ and to translate in this language the second of my two booklets, that is, the refutation of

¹ Adapted from: *Fiat voluntas tua* (Thy will be done), in the Our Father. (Matt. 6. 10.)

² The Monlam. Cf. Puini, 290, 306.

³ No doubt, the war against the King of Kokonor, which brought the Giongars to Lhasa in 1717, and brought about Ginghes-Khang's assassination.

⁴ His teacher of Tibetan, evidently. He would have been a Lama.

⁵ Catechism.

⁶ The Capuchins at Lhasa in 1707-11 appear to have made already a beginning of a grammar and a dictionary. Fr. Orazio della Penna may have helped himself with Fr. Desideri's work for his dictionary of about 35,000 words, which still exists in the Bishop's College Library, Calcutta.

the devilish error of the transmigration of Souls.¹ May the loving Jesus give me strength for it. I add to what I have said that the Capuchin Fathers brought a fine present and a letter of His Holiness for this King.² The present was almost entirely lost with many other good things, and with some sum of money the letter arrived,³ and I translated it faithfully into this language, and on the 4th of December,⁴ Fathers and I, with some expense, we presented it with great solemnity to the King who was highly pleased with such great honour,⁵ and he is making efforts to recover the present and the stolen goods. This is the news I can give from the end of July to the present date.

From the middle of April until now, that is these last 10 months, I have written 11 letters to the Father Rector of Agra⁶ and to the Father Provincial of Goa, and I have not had a single answer till now. I left Portugal 4 years ago,⁷ and during all that time I have not had any letter from Europe. Three years and three months ago, I started from Goa,⁸ and all that time not a single letter has reached me from the Superiors of Goa;⁹ (P. 376) which cannot but give me anxiety, as I am new and entirely unprovided for in these parts, and to promote the service of God I have been obliged to run into much expense; the money is almost at an end, and not a letter comes for me. I do not know how things will go. If, in this point, things continue the same way, as it is impossible to live on alms here,¹⁰ I shall be forced by and by to make my way towards the College of Agra and towards Goa. I am cutting down my expenses as much as I can, and shall continue to do so, lest the

¹ Four of Fr. Desideri's Tibetan MSS. are still in the possession of the Society of Jesus, but their contents have not been examined yet by a Tibetan scholar. (Cf. Wessels, 274-275.)

² The letter, dated January 6, 1714, is among my collection of materials for the history of the Capuchins in Tibet.

³ *sic*, for the punctuation in Puini.

⁴ Dec. 4, 1716.

⁵ *Che al maggior segno gradi un sì grand' onore.*

⁶ The Rector of Agra in the Catalogue of December 1716, is Fr. Melchior dos Reys, who, we know, was appointed in 1713, and reached Agra at the end of May 1714. The next catalogue of December 1718 shows that Fr. Alvarus de Albuquerque became Rector in March 1718. Fr. Melchior dos Reys appears, therefore, to have been Rector at Agra between the middle of April 1717 and Febr. 15, 1718.

⁷ On April 7, 1713.

⁸ On Nov. 17 or 21, 1713.

⁹ He had received at least two letters from the Provincial of Goa before he left Delhi for Tibet in 1714. Since then, it is less surprising that he had received no letters. Fr. Freyre was probably not back at Agra till the second half of 1716. By way of Patna and Nepal, where were the Capuchins, letters might have reached Desideri already, at least from Agra.

¹⁰ Like the Capuchins, Desideri always refused the money which his Tibetan friends urged him to accept.

blame be mine; when we shall have nothing left to stint, he will render an account to God for thus abandoning the Mission who is responsible for it. I refuse to believe that the thing will happen; but, if ever it happens, from now I place my justification in Your Paternity's hands.

Let Your Paternity pray much and make the whole Company pray much for wretched me, for the good success of this Mission and the salvation of these poor souls. If all of you were here, you would all of you weep all the time at the sight of the Devil's hard and palpable tyranny. One cannot relate all that in writing; we should require for it a volume and more. I cast myself at your feet and humbly ask your Blessing.

Lhasa, the 15th of February 1717.

Your Most Reverend Paternity's
Very unworthy servant in Christ and subordinate,
Ippolito Desideri.

Every year ships leave the Port of S. Ualo in France for Bengala and these Indies. It is the fastest route for answers.

10. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Felice of Montecchio Capuchin, Patna (Takpo, March 12, 1718).¹

(P. 376) Very Reverend and dear Father,

I am informed from Goa² that, in November 1717, Missionaries of the Company must have been sent from there to this Tibet,³ and it seems to me that there is not time enough for me to write to them at Agra. Accordingly, I make bold to avail myself of Your Very Reverend Paternity's well-known and very special kindness, and to ask you humbly (P. 377) kindly to remit to them the letter herewith, on their arrival at Patna. I have no knowledge whatever of such Missionaries;⁴ hence, I cannot guess whether, on their arrival at Patna, they are likely to fulfil the duties they have contracted towards the kindness of Your Most Reverend Paternities,⁵ and whether

¹ Cf. Puini, pp. 376-377. Letter taken from the *Sommario* of the case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in Tibet. Fr. Felice of Montecchio was then the Prefect of the Capuchin Mission of Tibet. The letter above shows that he resided at Patna, in Bihar.

² It may have been by this letter that Desideri was appointed Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Tibet. Cf. his letter 14 (Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719).

³ One of the first letters written by Desideri from Lhasa, after his arrival there on March 18, 1716, would naturally have been to ask for companions, chiefly as Fr. Freyre was not willing to stay. Some were probably sent in November 1717. We do not know their names.

⁴ The meaning may be that he did not know them personally, or did not know them yet by name.

⁵ *Delle PP. loro M.M. RR.*

they are aware of the debts which, as Missionaries destined to this Tibet, they happen to have incurred by anticipation, considering the exquisite attentions which I have hitherto received and continually receive from the most courteous and most religious Charity of the Very Reverend Capuchin Missionary Fathers, in particular of Your Very Reverend Paternity, who with your innate kindness know how to compassionate so many importunities of mine and of our Fathers of Indostan.¹ Whatever happens, I beg from now of Your Very Reverend Paternity to be so good as to overlook their little knowledge and complete inexperience, and to double the merit of your most religious Charity by giving them a share in the favour of your most prudent directions, especially as regards the journey. If, on their arrival or before their departure for Nepal, the order should have come from Rome that the Company is to desist from labouring in this Mission of Tibet,² then, in case such an order emanates who can give orders to the Company, that is from the Sovereign Pontiff, before whose commands I humbly bow my head, I humbly beg of Your Very Reverend Paternity's prudence to see to it that the said Missionaries should not uselessly push further, but should return at once to Agra or await my return at Patna. I hope Your Very Reverend Paternity will excuse my great boldness and will honour me with your most esteemed orders. Recommending myself to Your Holy Sacrifices, I sign myself, as I am,

Takpò, from the Hospice of the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers, the 12th of March 1718.³

¹ This indicates that by now Desideri and the Fathers of Agra had often had recourse to the services of Fr. Felice of Montecchio at Patna. Letters from and to Desideri would naturally be addressed to him for transmission.

² In answer to the Prefect Fr. Dominico of Fano's letter sent to Propaganda from Nepal before leaving for Tibet on August 4, 1716.

³ Takpo or Takpo-Khier is the Province where Desideri then was. The Capuchin hospice was at Trong-gnée. (Wessels, pp. 225, 251, 268, 269.) Fr. Wessels marks Takpo on his map, but not Trong-gnée. The place is mentioned in Puini, p. 14, (where it is spelt Trong-gnè). It was 8 days from Lhasa. Desideri may have gone there to explore the country, and to escape from the political troubles which the victory of the Giongars in December 1717 had led to. Puini writes that he went there for greater safety. He adds (p. 65): 'At Takpo-Kier, he continued the study of other Buddhist books, and almost completed another work of his in refutation of the errors of the Tibetan religion. The work was divided into three parts: in the first, he refuted the doctrine of transmigration; in the second, "the chief error of the Tongpagni" (*sTong.pa.ny'i*); in the third, he explained how to understand the Christian doctrine; this last was in the form of a dialogue. This work "was very well received by the Lamas and the doctors, who read and examined it, and who came in numbers to read it again and study it together." At p. XLIII, Puini returns to the description of this MS.: 'In the first (part) he refuted the doctrine of transmigration; in the second, he refuted the Buddhist doctrine which regards the world as non-existent, and teaches liberation from all illusion; in the third, he expounded the principles of Christianity.'

Your Most Reverend Paternity's

Very humble, very devoted, and very obliged
servant,

Ippolito Desideri,
of the Company of Jesus.

Fr. Wessels writes: 'His plan was to write in the Tibetan language a refutation of the errors of their doctrine and a defence of the Catholic religion. But he had hardly set to work when it was interrupted by a violent catastrophe. The Tartars invaded the country. Lhasa was taken and sacked, and on December 3 the king and his ministers were murdered. Not thinking himself safe at Sera, Desideri retired to the Province of Takpo-Khier at eight days' journey from the Capital, where he found time and opportunity to finish his book. His retirement lasted till April 1721 with the exception of a few months (p. 225) at Lhasa. In one of his visits to the Capital he gave his book to read to his former teacher of Tibetan, one of the cleverest among the Lamas. It consisted he tells us of three volumes. The first argued against the migration of souls as taught by Buddhism, the second attacked the main error into which the Tongba-gni falls, the denial of an Absolute Being (*Ens a se*), Creator of the world, Itself uncreated. The third volume was constructive and in the form of a dialogue gave an exposition of the Christian doctrine.

'The work caused a great stir and "my house suddenly became the scene of incessant comings and goings by all sorts of people, but chiefly learned men and professors, who came from the monasteries and universities, especially from those of Sera and Bree-bung, the principal ones, to apply for permission to see and read the book"' (pp. 224-225).

'Desideri notes (MS. A. Book I, ch. XV, p. 91) that he took the book away with him when he left Tibet. I surmise it is the third of the Tibetan MSS. mentioned by Wessels on page 275, but this must be left for Tibetan scholars to settle. It consists of 704 pp. and bears the initial date of June 23, 1718. The second of the above-mentioned MSS. dated Dec. 8, 1717, must have been begun immediately on his arrival at Takpo-Khier. See p. 275.' (*Ibid.*, p. 225, n. 1.)

We know that the first section on the transmigration of souls was written in Italian in June-August 1716, and was completed by Sept. 8, 1716, when Desideri began putting into Tibetan verse another Italian treatise of his on the one way of salvation. (Puini, 372.) We know also that he intended in March 1717 or even earlier to begin a Catechism and the translation of his Italian treatise on the transmigration of souls. (Puini, 375.)

A Tibetan MS. of his (Wessels, 274, MS. 1) has the date July 1, 1717, on the first page, and consists of 54 pp. This MS. already may be the translation of his treatise on transmigration, or his Catechism.

Another Tibetan MS. of his (Wessels, 275, MS. 2) is dated on the first page December 8, 1717, and on the last are the words in Latin: The feast of the Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga saw the end of this treatise. 1718. The last date is, therefore, June 21, 1718. The initial date of this MS. could hardly have been written at Takpo, as Desideri was at Lhasa, in the Sera monastery on Dec. 1, 1717, and apparently several days after, and as the journey from Lhasa to Takpo took 8 days, and often as much as a fortnight, according to the calculations of the Capuchins. I think therefore that the second MS. was begun at Lhasa and was completed at Takpo, where Desideri was by March 12, 1718.

A third Tibetan MS. by Desideri (Wessels, 275, MS. 3) bears the initial date June 24, 1718. This MS. was clearly begun at Takpo, where Desideri was on August 4, 1718. It is the largest MS., one of 704 oblong pages,

About September, if God gives me life, I hope to return to Lhasa.¹

Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Capuchin, Patna (Trong-gnê, Aug. 4, 1718).²

(P. 378) Very Reverend and very honoured Father,

On receiving, in the month of July last, the inestimable honour of your Very Reverend Paternity's most excellent and to me most pleasing letter, dated the 23rd of December 1717,³ I had for the first time the much longed-for consolation of receiving the esteemed orders which you were pleased to impart to me.⁴ Although I had for a long time wished with all my heart and was eagerly wishing for the good fortune of complying with your Very Reverend Paternity's orders, yet this time I rejoice extremely that I have not had even a remote chance of performing them.⁵ Your Very Reverend Paternity was pleased to request me warmly that I should not fail to recommend earnestly your Very Reverend Religious to the Fathers of Our Company in Pekin; for you add that you have heard that the said Very Reverend Fathers will be conducted to Pekin against their wish.⁶ Not only, therefore, have I not executed the

33, 5×18, 5 cm., and having 35 lines to the page. The first page photographically reproduced in Wessels' book shows that it is in Tibetan verse, from the regularity of the divisions within the lines. We naturally think that this is the work in three sections or volumes which the Lamas of Lhasa came in such numbers to examine during a visit of Desideri to Lhasa, the more so as Fr. Desideri says he brought the MS. back to Europe. Desideri was for some time at Lhasa in 1719, after which he returned to Takpo.

A fourth MS. by Desideri in Tibetan (Wessels, 275, No. 4) consists of 128 narrow strips (33,5×13,5 cm.) with 7 lines to the page. It is undated and appears to be also in verse, from the regularity of the divisions within the lines. Might this be a copy of the treatise on the one way of salvation presented to King Cinghes-Khang on January 6, 1717? If it is, the first page, also photographically reproduced by Fr. Wessels, is likely to contain the poetical dedication to the King, of which he speaks in Puini (p. 274).

Desideri's doings at Takpo hardly appear in his writings, as made known to us by Puini and Wessels. The Capuchin at Takpo on March 12, 1718, was probably Fr. John Francis of Fossombrone, who in June 1717 appears to have been at Takpo (Letter 11).

¹ We do not know whether he returned to Lhasa about September 1718. All we can say is that our letter of Aug. 4, 1718, is still from Takpo; our next one from his pen is from Lhasa, and is dated Dec. 21, 1719.

² Cf. Puini, pp. 378-382. Letter from the *Sommario* of the case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in Tibet.

³ This letter had travelled very slowly, though it was the best season of the year for travelling.

⁴ This may have been Fr. Felice's first letter to Desideri, or his first request for a service.

⁵ The trouble to which Fr. Felice referred has passed away.

⁶ A strange request, which can have been prompted only by the Capuchin Fathers at Lhasa. The trouble arose in the beginning of June 1717, and appears to have been over within three days. The first day the

orders sent me, but I make bold humbly and most urgently to beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity kindly to write to some correspondent of yours in Pekin and recommend to him my own self, since I have been importuned much more strongly by the Chinese than the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers about being conducted against my wish to that Metropolis.¹ The more surely to obtain the favour of such a recommendation,² Your Very Reverend Paternity will pardon me if, in all sincerity, without even the slightest alteration in the affair, and without any the least admixture of passion, I subjoin here a most faithful account of the affair, and if, in order to declare the truth just as it is, *coram Deo* (before God) I am somewhat too minute and prolix in my account.

In the beginning of May 1717, there arrived at Lhasa three Ambassadors of high rank, a Vakil³ and other officials sent by the Emperor of China to the late King of this Tibet, King

Chinese ambassadors insisted on Fr. Desideri's going to Pekin and taking service at the Emperor's court; the next day, the Capuchins and Desideri were importuned the same way; the next day the matter was referred to Cinghes-Khang, who asked the ambassadors to leave the Fathers in peace, since they refused to go. Why should the Capuchins, after that, have troubled Fr. Felice for obtaining from Desideri a letter of introduction to the Jesuits of Pekin, unless they thought that Desideri alone would not be conducted to Pekin? If they thought he too would be taken to Pekin, there was no need of a letter of introduction; he would himself be the best recommendation in their favour; if they thought he would be left at Lhasa, while they were taken to Pekin, did they doubt he would not recommend them to the Jesuits of Pekin? Would he do at Fr. Felice's request what he would not grant to the Prefect, Fr. Domenico, at Lhasa? Desideri answers what he considers wrong information given by the Capuchins of Lhasa, and his suspicions appear to fall, not on the Prefect, but on Fr. Orazio della Penna, who in June 1717 was the only other Capuchin at Lhasa. In fact, one of the two spoke his mind clearly. In what sense? We are not told. Was the suspicion on Fr. Orazio's part that Desideri or the Jesuits of Pekin, or both, had tried to get the Capuchins away from Tibet, so as to remain sole masters of the field? We have no knowledge of letters of Desideri's to China before June 1717. Desideri refutes the suspicions, whichever they were, by saying he was importuned more than the Capuchins. At the time of writing, and since December 1717, when the Giongars took Lhasa, there could have been no question any more for the Chinese ambassadors to take to Pekin, against their wish, the Capuchins and Desideri. Did not the Chinese ambassadors, who had helped in fortifying Lhasa against the Giongars, lose their life in the attack on Lhasa? Fr. Felice's letter of Dec. 23, 1717, followed a letter from the Capuchins at Lhasa, who must have written shortly after the affair. Fr. Desideri takes it as a thrust at himself, rather than as a serious request. Fr. Felice could afford to be malicious, since Desideri depended on his services at Patna to forward letters to and from him.

¹ In spite of the *umilmente, e con ogni efficacia*, I consider Desideri's request for a like service at Pekin only a disguised way of paying off good Fr. Felice.

² Desideri continues his malicious tone.

³ An attorney. One is surprised to hear this word from Lhasa, but perhaps it was the best equivalent for one at Patna.

Cingheskan, his very intimate correspondent and a relative of his own Family. Owing to the bad water on the journey, some Chinese servants of the Ambassadors, troubled by humours and beginnings of dropsy, had recourse to the Very Reverend Father Prefect of the Capuchin Fathers, (P. 379) Father Domenico of Fano, who with indefatigable and indiscriminate Charity exercises in Lhasa the medical profession. By the grace of God the treatment was successful and procured relief to the sick Chinese. By this means, from the end of May, the Chinese servants knew the European Fathers, but the Ambassadors and chief officials had not yet had the opportunity of a close acquaintance. At that time, the Reverend Father Francesco Orazio della Penna, the Vicar of the Hospice of the Capuchin Fathers at Lhasa, and I were in a Convent of these gentile Tibetan Monks, studying this language and their books.¹ One day, in the beginning of June 1717, the said Reverend Father Vicar and I, tired of our continual study, went out of the Convent one evening for a short stroll. Coming back, we met not far from the said Convent a Chinese Ambassador, acquainted with the language of this Tibet, and a retinue of his people. The Ambassador stared at us, scanned us from head to foot, and asked us whether we were Europeans, of those who are at Pekin. The answer was in the affirmative. The Ambassador asked us again what we were doing at Lhasa and where we lived. Finally, when we had arrived at the Convent and wished to take leave of them, I begged the Ambassador for the favour of taking to Pekin two letters of mine. He told me to write them and bring them to his house, and he would favour me with delivering them at their address. I wrote the two letters, one for the Father Provincial of the Province of China,² the other to Father Ludovico Gonzaga.³ Two days later, when I had gone to remit the first *via* (copy) to the first Ambassador, the second Ambassador, who lived in the same house, stopped me and wanted the letters himself, assuring me that he would forward them. I was called to audience by the first Ambassador, who, after much courtesy, asked me how many Europeans we were at Lhasa. I answered: three. He inquired my name. I said my name was Ippolito Desideri, Jesuit. He wrote the name; after which, he said: And how are the others called? I answered that the first was called Father Domenico, Capuchin; and the second, Father Francesco Orazio, Capuchin. He wrote these two names as well. The Vakil then intervened and asked me whether we would go to China. I said clearly no, to which he

¹ According to Puini (p. 64), Desideri lived at the Ramo-cche convent from March 25, 1717, till the end of July.

² Name unknown to me.

³ The only Ludovico Gonzaga in A. Franco's list is 'P(ater) Ludovicus Gonzaga,' an Italian, who came out, a priest, *vid* Lisbon in 1706.

replied that he would request us (to go). I replied that, instead of that, I would ask (him) to recommend us to this King, to whose Kingdom we had been sent and where we were living. The supreme Chief, or Ambassador, promised to do so, and asked me to write afresh the two letters for Pekin and bring them to him, as he too wished (P. 380) to forward them. Back at the Convent, I wrote the second *via* (copy) of both letters.

The next morning, very early, the very Reverend Father Prefect sent to the Convent a note asking us whether we were willing to accompany him on a visit to the two Chief Ambassadors and the Vakil. We accepted, and went all three. On arrival, we were at once conducted to see the Vakil, and the other Officials, and the Chinese servants, who were ill, some more, some less. The Very Reverend Father Prefect felt their pulse, questioned each about his indisposition, and promised to each of them for the next day the medicine. After that, we were admitted to audience by the first Ambassador. After sundry compliments, he asked for our names. First he wrote Father Ippolito Desideri, Jesuit; next, Father Domenico, Capuchin; next, Father Francesco Orazio, Capuchin; each one of us personally helping him to his own name. Then, beginning in the same order, he asked what science or art we know. I answered that I knew no art and no science. 'And what are you doing in Lhasa?' he asked. I answered that I was studying the language and examining the books of the Tibetans. Within the space for my name he wrote according to my answer. The Very Reverend Father Prefect answered he was a Doctor, which was written in the space for his name. The Reverend Father Vicar answered like myself, and his answer was recorded alongside of his name. After that, the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers added that another Companion of theirs was at Takpò, and that two others were on their way to Lhasa. The first Ambassador again wrote their names: Father Gio. Francesco,¹ Capuchin, Doctor; Father Angelico,² Capuchin, Doctor; and Father Buonaventura,³ Capuchin, applied to the study of the language and of the books. He handed the writing to the Vakil and sent us to the second Ambassador. This one likewise asked us the same questions, wrote in the same strain,

¹ It would have been natural if the Capuchins had first named their companion at Takpo. Accordingly, I think that Fr. John Francis of Fossombrone was then at Takpo. He had arrived in Bengal with Fr. Orazio della Penna on Sept. 1, 1713.

² Fr. Angelico of Brescia came to Bengal at the end of August 1715, together with Fr. Domenico of Fano, then back from Rome.

³ Fr. Buonaventura of Pedona arrived at Chandernagore with Fr. Angelico of Brescia, at the end of Aug. 1715. Had he been previously in Tibet, we should have heard of him as learning the Tibetan language with Desideri and Fr. Orazio, which is not the case. He may, therefore, safely be regarded as on his way from Nepal to Lhasa in June 1717.

called for a number of sick servants, dressed, went out with us and the Vakil, and with the latter and the writing repaired to the King's palace. The Father Prefect went home, and the Father Vicar and I returned to the Convent. We laughed, the three of us: for we imagined the Ambassadors were joking.

The next morning, the Vakil, a Tartar favourite of the King, and a Tibetan went to the house, and, on finding the very Reverend Father Prefect, they persisted asking whether he was willing to go to the Court of Pekin, and they made him grand promises, and the Tartar added that the King wished to know the intentions of each Father, and that, if they wished to go, he would give them horses, beasts of burden, clothes, food, and money, and servants up to Pekin, and that there they would be well treated. (P. 381) The Father Prefect answered emphatically no. 'And where are the two others?' they asked. 'They are at the Convent,' he responded, 'And, as for Father Francesco Orazio, Capuchin, he depends on me, and refuses.' They added: 'And Father Ippolito, Jesuit?' 'Question him,' he replied, 'and you will know.' The Very Reverend Father Prefect came immediately to the Convent, and, on entering the place where the two of us were, studying: 'Do you know,' said he, 'that the Chinese are not joking? For me and Father Vicar the matter is already settled: now they insist on getting at least the Jesuit, and they will be here presently for that.' Arrived the Vakil, the Tartar and the Tibetan; they fought me stubbornly to extort my consent; they insisted and held out great promises, and I defended myself with different reasons; at the end I asked what need they had to take me there. The Vakil answered clearly, so as to be heard by all who had ears, what he said the previous morning, when the Very Reverend Father Prefect felt his pulse: 'He had been running up and down for ten years, on behalf of Amullakhang (as they call the Emperor of China), to Moscovy, to Kasckar, to Tartary, to Tibet and other parts, and from the first day he had been ordered by Amullakhang to bring to Pekin, at whatever expense, the Europeans, professing sciences or arts, whom he might meet anywhere.' Finally, the Tartar decided to take us all three to the King's Palace, that the King himself might decide, on hearing our intentions. The King made us most courteous and royal offers for the journey, and reassured us, to know our will; and, hearing that we all persisted in our refusal, he decided thus: 'It was not just', he said, 'to force us against our will, and we could remain quietly in his Kingdom,' which decision extinguished the heated efforts of the Chinese.

I have now given very minutely an account of whatever happened, and I declare myself quite ready to confirm on oath all this, as I have here related, before Your Very Reverend Paternity, before anyone who might have been informed other-

wise than I have written, before Your Very Reverend Father Procurator General, before His Eminence the Lord Cardinal Sagripanti, and before His Holiness. I now beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity to excuse me if, in all candour, I expose to you confidentially a suspicion of mine. On reading Your Very Reverend Paternity's above-recited orders, I have suspected that, not from any bad intention, no, but because you had not been fully informed by the other side, you wished rather, under otherwise polite expressions, to give me the unmerited mortification of politely and covertly pricking me than (P. 382) of honouring me with Your most welcome and most revered orders. Such a suspicion is not without foundation, because each one of the members of your Mission, the Superior excepted, has too warmly and too openly come out with it. But time, which clears up all things, will, I hope, make known authoritatively and justly, whenever necessary, truth and innocence. Pardon my too great candour and excuse the trouble which I rightly take to defend, if not my own reputation, at least that of my Religion, which, from my experience of 18 years, always and everywhere makes it her rule to profess respect, dependence and veneration for the most Illustrious and most Venerated Religion of the Capuchin Fathers, which it specially singles out among all the other Religions.

In conclusion, if this time I have not had occasion to obey you, I hope at least that Your Very Reverend Paternity's inborn kindness will not fail to employ me with other commands in your most esteemed service. Humbly begging you once more (as I have done in other letters) that, in case Fathers of the Company, sent to this Mission, should pass, you would deign to help them and favour them with your most loving protection and timely directions, and recommending myself too to your devout and holy Prayers, I humbly kiss your sacred hands, and with every respect, call myself

Trong-gné, from the Hospice of the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers, the 4th of August 1718.¹

Your Very Reverend Paternity's
 Very devoted, very humble and much
 obliged Servant,
 Ippolito Desideri,
 of the Company of Jesus.

¹ Evidently, no letters had yet reached telling Desideri that the Mission was to be left to the Capuchins; it is strange, however, that Desideri asks Fr. Felice to help the Jesuits, if any come to Tibet, to come through, instead of repeating the warning of March 12, 1718, of sending them back, in case the Tibet Mission is assigned exclusively to the Capuchins.

12. Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda to the General of the Society of Jesus for recalling his subjects from Tibet (12. 12. 1718).

Decretum Sacrae Congregationis. Generalis de Propaganda fide die 12 decembris 1718.

Decree of the General Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, the 12th of December 1718.

Referente Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo Domino, Cardinali Francisco Barberino, Sacra Congregatio, inhaerendo ac confirmando Decreta alias edita sub diebus 15 januarii 1656, 28. Aprilis 1698, prima Martii et 20 Septembris superioris anni 1717, statuit, et mandavit serio, atque districte injungit, ac praecipit Patri Praeposito Generali Societatis Jesus, ut juxta ejusmodi Decreta omnino. dimittat Missiones in Regnis Tibeti, utpote P.P. Capucinis Italis diu jam assignatis; atque inde, quacumque dilatione, tergiversatione, ac mora sublata revocet, ac removeat suos Religiosos, qui ad eas excolendas Missiones inconsulta Sacra Congregatione, imo, et contra. ejus Decreta se contulerunt.

On the report of the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord, Cardinal Francis Barberini, the Sacred Congregation, adhering to and confirming the Decrees already published on the 15th of January 1656,¹ the 29th of April 1698,² the 1st of March and the 20th of September of last year 1717,³ decided, and earnestly ordered, and strictly enjoins and ordains that, in keeping with these Decrees, the Father Provost General of the Society of Jesus give up altogether the Missions in the Kingdoms of Tibet, these having been assigned already long before to the Italian Capuchin Fathers; and that without any deferring, tergiversation and delay he recall thence and remove his Religious, who without consulting the Sacred Congregation, nay, even against

¹ This is the decree referred to by Desideri in letter 9 as having been spoken of by Fr. Domenico of Fano to himself at Lhasa, shortly after the arrival of the Capuchins on Oct. 1, 1716. It was not shown to Desideri. All Desideri remembered on February 15, 1717, was that it was more than 60 years old, and forbade 'even to the Fathers of the Society' to go to Missions where Missionaries of another Religious Order, sent by the Propaganda, were already established.

² The date should be 1698, as appears from our next document. This decree could have nothing to do with Tibet in particular; it may have reiterated the decree of January 15, 1656.

³ These two decrees may have answered Fr. Domenico of Fano's letter written to Propaganda from Nepal, before proceeding to Lhasa on Aug. 4, 1716. It is, however, difficult to understand that a letter from Nepal written, say in May or June 1716, by which time Fr. Freyre may have appeared in Nepal, could have reached Rome by March 1, 1717. By Dec. 21, 1719, the Capuchins may have had knowledge of the two decrees of 1717. Cf. Letter 14.

Datum Romae die et anno,
quibus supra.

its Decrees,¹ went to cultivate
those Missions.

Given at Rome, on the day
and year as above.²

13. Letter of the General of the Society of Jesus recalling
Fr. Ippolito Desideri from Tibet (Rome, 16. 1. 1719).

Admodum Reverende Pater
in Christo.
Pax Christi.

Very Reverend Father in
Christ.
The Peace of Christ.

Jam anno elapso P. Provinciali Goae scripsi, ut V. R. e Missionibus Tibeti revocaret, cum mihi ita a Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda fide fuerit ordinatum ex eo, quod Missiones utriusque. Regni Tibeti PP. Capucinis cum exclusione ejusceumque alterius Religionis fuerint concredita. Re-

Already last year, I wrote to the Father Provincial at Goa, telling him to recall Your Reverence from the Missions of Tibet, as I have been ordered to do so by the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith,³ because the Missions of the two Kingdoms of Tibet⁴ were entrusted to the

¹ The words: 'Nay, even against its Decrees' were a hard blow for the General and Desideri. Desideri regarded them as an unmerited rebuke, calling for justification. If the decrees of 1656 and 1698 were violated, it was not, it appears to us, until Freyre and Desideri, after passing through the first and second Tibets, crossed into the third on Sept. 7, 1715, knowing the Capuchins had been there and thinking they were yet or might yet be there. For crossing the border, there was the excuse of going to reopen the Tibet Mission of de Andrada, and for Freyre his seeking an easier route back to Mogor. Could the mere fact of travelling through the third Tibet up to Lhasa, chiefly in the absence of the Capuchins, be construed into a violation of the decree? When Desideri and the Capuchins found themselves together at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716, and a few days later Desideri heard of the decree of 1656, he wisely interposed an appeal to the Sovereign Pontiff and the Propaganda in February 1717, having between April 1716 and Febr. 1717 written many letters to his Superiors. Had Propaganda itself, created in 1622, remembered sufficiently what the Jesuits had done in Tibet since 1624, when in 1703 and 1704 it assigned Tibet to the Capuchins?

² Cf. Launay (II. 378), referring to *Bullarium Capucinatorum*, t. VII, p. 254.

³ Probably, not in answer to the decree of Propaganda of Dec. 12, 1718, but of March 1, 1717, and September 20, 1717.

⁴ The two Tibets mentioned here must mean Ladakh (or Great Tibet) and what we now call Tibet *par excellence*, with capital at Lhasa. The General speaks of a letter received from Desideri. This must be his letter from Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717, in which however there is question only of 'this Thibet,' the Tibet of Lhasa. Another letter received by 1718 appears to have been that from Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, which probably was sent off from Lhasa through Fr. Freyre after March 18, 1716. In that letter three Tibets are mentioned: Little Tibet (Baltistan), Great Tibet (Ladakh), and the third Tibet of Lhasa and the Capuchins, also called Great Tibet; in that letter Desideri expresses doubts only for the two Tibets of Ladakh and Lhasa.

petii et inculcavi haec eadem mea, jusa hoc anno tum dicto P. Provinciali, tum R. V. in meis responsoriis ad suas, Lisbonam jam missis, quatenus inde per viam ordinariam navium in Goae isthuc dirigerentur.

Quantumvis de prompta hujus meae dispositionis executione dubitari non possit, nihilominus ex novo Illustrissimi D. Secretarii Congregationis de Propaganda fide impulsu, renovo hisce meis, quae per aliam viam ad R. V. diriguntur, eundem meum ordinem, cum plurimum me urgeat executio jussuum Sacrae Congregationis, praesertim ob Decreta 15 Januarii 1665, at 28 Aprilis 1698, emanata, quibus cavetur, ne ullus in locis, aliis Religionibus pro Missionibus assignatis, novam Missionem absque expressa Sacrae Congregationis licentia fundet. Quando R.V. dedi licentiam se transferendi ad Regna Tibeti, assignatio haec Missionum Tibeti facta a Sacra Congregatione Capucinis nota mihi non erat: imo a me fuit. suppositum, quod, cum dicta Missio fuerit a nostris Patribus. fun-

Capuchin Fathers, to the exclusion of any other Religious Order. This year, I have repeated and urged these my same orders to the said Fr. Provincial, and to Your Reverence in my answers to your letter (letters?)¹ which I sent to Lisbon,² to be taken thence by the ordinary route of the Goa ships.³

Though there can be no doubt regarding the prompt execution of this my disposition, yet, owing to a new urging on the part of the Most Illustrious Lord Secretary of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith,⁴ I renew my same order by this letter, which is sent to Your Reverence by another route, as I am greatly bound to execute the orders of the Sacred Congregation, chiefly because of the Decrees passed on the 15th of January, 1665,⁵ and the 28th April 1698,⁶ by which it is forbidden to anyone to establish, without the express leave of the Sacred Congregation, a new Mission in places assigned as missions to other Religious Orders. When I allowed Your Reverence to go to the Kingdoms of Tibet, I did not know that the Missions of Tibet had been thus assigned

¹ Desideri, who knew that his letter of Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717, had been received in Rome in 1718, thought the General alluded to it in this letter of his (Cf. Letter 15); but more than one letter may be meant in the Latin: *in meis responsoriis ad suas*, where it is not clear whether *suas* refers to an understood *epistolas* or *litteras*.

² Not received by Desideri.

³ So then, the General repeated his orders between Jan. 1 and Jan. 16, 1719, by the Lisbon-Goa route, apparently in answer to the decree of Dec. 12, 1718.

⁴ The new urging should then have been later than Dec. 12, 1718.

⁵ Jan. 15, 1656, in our previous document.

⁶ April 29, 1798 (Read: 1698) in our previous document.

data, et ab iis usque ad annum 1650, quo ob persecutionem fuerunt ejecti, culta, ab aliis non amplius fuerit re-aperta; hinc R. V. novam hanc dispositionem, à novis notitiis à Sacra Congregatione receptis provenientem non miretur, et huiusce meae receptis illico de ista Missione discedere disponat, cum merito, quod Eam coram Deo ob iter tam arduum in se susceptum, et per cognitionem. nostrae S. Fidei cum solidis principiis et tanto zelo in memorato Regno promotam acquisivisse confidimus, cui sollicitam obedientiam Suae Divinae Majestati acceptiorem quam si omnia illa Regna ad sedem veram converteret, adjungat, et statim me de executione. hujus meae dispositionis informet, qui me S.S. Sacrificiis et orationibus suis commendo.

to the Capuchins by the Sacred Congregation;¹ nay I supposed that, as the said Mission had been founded by our Fathers and had been cultivated by them till the year 1650, when they were expelled on account of persecution, it had not been reopened any more by others;² accordingly, let not Your Reverence be surprised at this new disposition caused by new informations received by the Sacred Congregation, and, on receipt of this my letter, prepare to leave that Mission at once, with the merit which we trust Your Reverence gained before God by undertaking so arduous a journey and by promoting with solid beginnings and so much zeal in the said Kingdom the knowledge of our Holy Faith. Add to it exact obedience to His Divine Majesty, which will be more pleasing than if you were to convert all those Kingdoms to the true Faith,³ and inform me

¹ He allowed in 1712, as appears from Letter 15. Difficult as it is to explain how the General did not know yet in 1712 that Tibet had been assigned to the Capuchins in 1703 and 1704, that they had been sent to Tibet in 1704, and had entered it in 1707, we have his word for it, and a reason is given. Fr. Tamburini was General from Jan. 3, 1706, only, to Febr. 28, 1730. Desideri in his letter of Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721, tells him how the Capuchins, sent by Propaganda, entered Tibet in 1708 (*sic*) and left it in 1711. On Jan. 16, 1719, the General knew from Desideri's letter of Febr. 15, 1717, that the Capuchins had re-appeared at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716. In 1714 he must have learned that the Capuchins had left Tibet in 1711; for Fr. Domenico of Fano appeared that year at Rome, asking for men and money to re-open the Tibet Mission, and bringing a letter of recommendation to the Procurator General of the Jesuits from Fr. Vautrain Baudrè, S.J., of Chandernagore, and from Fr. Ory, S.J., Procurator at Paris, whose letter is dated Jan. 2, 1714. (Cf. L. Besse, S.J., in *Revue historique de l'Inde française*, Vol. 2 (1918), p. 181.)

² The exact date when the Tsaparang Mission was given up remains to be ascertained. Efforts to re-enter it were made in 1640, and Brother Marques was a prisoner at Tsaparang in 1641 and we do not know when he was released or whether he was released at all. (Wessels, 88.)

³ The Latin should apparently give: *ad veram fidem*, the more so as *f* and *s* (when not final) looked almost the same in writing and printing. Launay also translates by: *à la vraie Foi* (I. 34).

at once of the execution of this my disposition. I commend myself to your¹ Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Romae, 16 januarii 1719.

Rome, the 16th of January 1719.

Servus in Christo

Your Servant in Christ,

Michael Angelus Tamburinus.

Michael Angel Tamburini.

14. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus (Lhasa, 21 Dec., 1719).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist.* 1569-1742 (*Goa.* 9).)

†

Molto R. do in X. po P.re N.ro,
P.C. CCCXVII.a.

†

Our Very Reverend Father
in Christ.
The Peace of Christ.

Avendo frainteso, che la S. C. di Prop.a ad istanza de' P.ri Cappuccini voglia disacciar la Comp.a da q.te Missioni, considerata la cosa nel Sig.re, *ex vi* dll' avermi il P. Pro.le di Goa già addossato il carico di Sup.re di c.ta Miss.e, mi sono stimato in coscienza gravem.te obbligato ad Appellare alla S.C. di Prop.a ed al Som. Pont.e, e a unilm. te dimandar si a q.to, come a q.la, che espressam.te, e p.mezzo dlla P.V.M.R.mi facciano giungere ordine di portarmi a Roma p.esporre la verità, li legittimi Jus, e ragioni dlla Comp.a. Acceludo qui il foglio dll' Appello, il di cui med.mo teno re invio parim, te a Sua Santità. Così hò giudicato in

Having understood² that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, at the request of the Capuchin Fathers, wished to expel the Company from these Missions, I, having considered the matter in the Lord, on the strength that the Father Provincial has already laid on me the charge of Superior of this Mission, have considered myself seriously obliged to Appeal to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and the Supreme Pontiff, and humbly to ask both the latter and the former that they send me expressly and through Your Very Reverend Paternity the order of betaking myself to Rome, to expose the truth, the lawful rights, and the reasons

¹ *Tuis* in Latin, instead of *suis*?

² *Frantendere* is translated in the dictionaries by to *understand ill*. Probably Desideri means: 'having understood more or less.' The Capuchins had not shown him the decree of Propaganda of Dec. 12, 1718; it does not seem to have reached them till January 1721, but they may have let Desideri understand that they knew it was preparing. Besides, there was a decree of March 1, 1717, and of Sept. 20, 1717.

coscienza esser' io obbligato a umilm. te reclamare, constandomi con evidenza che la Comp.a è apertissimam.te a torto aggravata con Informazioni non giuste, e in tutta la Comp.a nessuno hà l'evidenza che io hò sopra di ciò.

Se in ciò hò fatto bene, hò scaricato la mia coscienza. Se hò fatto male, non è stato malizia di volontà, ma errore d'Intelletto, e p.ciò condonabile. Ciò non ostante, se la P.S.M.R. giudica, aver' io fatto male, mi sottopongo a tutti quelli gastighi che le piacerà di darmi. In tanto supplico di nuovo la P.S.M.R. dlla grazia tante vol te con altre mie lettere chiestale, che si degni di mandarmi espresso as soluto ordine di portarmi speditam.te a Roma, dove se piacerà a Dio di condurmi, e se averò la sorte di buttarmi a' piedi dlla P.S.M.R., e a voce dichiarar tutto q.llo, che m'occorre, sp.o mi comanderà ella med.ma di liberam.te parlare, e pugnare *pro Justitiâ*; e p.la riputazione dlla Comp.a, le di cui ragioni ignorandosi, e sapendosi il discacciamento, e misero esilio, si può dal Mondo sinistram.te di essa giudicare.

Si degni pregare, e far pregare con tutto fervore il Sig. re p. il buon successo di tali

of the Company. I include here the leaf of the *Appello* (I appeal), the same tenor of which I send likewise to His Holiness. Thus have I judged in conscience that I am obliged to protest humbly, as it is to me clear to evidence that the Company is very plainly burdened wrongly with informations that are not just, and in the whole Company no one has the evidence which I have thereon.

If in this I have acted well, I have discharged my conscience. If I have acted wrongly, it has not been ill will, but error of judgment, and therefore is pardonable. This notwithstanding, if your Very Reverend Paternity judges that I have done wrong, I submit to all the punishments which it will please you to give me. Meanwhile, I again beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity for the favour I have so often asked you in my other letters, that you deign to send me an express and absolute order to come quickly to Rome, where, if it shall please God to bring me, and if I have the good luck of casting myself at the feet of Your Very Reverend Paternity, and to say orally whatever occurs to me, I hope you yourself will order me to speak freely and to fight *pro Justitiâ* (for Justice), and for the reputation of the Company, whose reasons not knowing, and knowing of the expulsion, and wretched exile, the World may judge her ill.

Deign to pray and to cause to pray with all fervour to the Lord for the good success of

miei Appelli, e p. me, che di tutto cuore mi racc.o alli suoi SS. Sacr.i, e umilm.te dimando la sua Paterna Benediz.e.

D.P.V.M.R.

Lhasà, nel Tibet 21. X' bre 1719.

In caso che la P.S.M.R. giudicasse che coressero gli Appelli umilm.te la supplico ad interporre le sue raccomandazioni, a tutti q.lli Sig.ri Cardinali, e altri, che giudichi, sì in Prop.a, come appresso Sua Santità poter essere favorevoli, e con calore pigliar l'impegno. Zeli, p. q.te povere anime in estremo bisognosiss.e, e Iddio N.ro Sig.re le darà un gran premio nel Paradiso.

Ind.mo e Minimo Servo, e Suddito,

Ippolito Desiderj.

(Endorsement made in Rome.)

Goana 1719.

Lhasà Thibetti 21 Decem.

P. Hyppolitus Desiderii.

Post decretum S.Cong. quo obligatus a Thibetto exire, ductus conscientia rogat P.V.m enixissime, ut eum evocet Romam, quia sic agitur de causa Dei, nec per literas quae habet potest plene edocere, et ideo interponit Apellationem ad S.

these my Appeals, and for me, who with all my heart commend myself to Your Holy Sacrifices, and humbly crave your Fatherly Blessing.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's,

Lhasà, in Tibet,
21st December, 1719.

In case Your Very Reverend Paternity should judge that the Appeals¹ should run their course, I humbly beg to you to interpose your commendations with all the Lords Cardinals, and others, who you may judge can be favourable, both in Propaganda and before His Holiness, and can warmly do the needful. Please bestir yourself zealously for these poor souls who are extremely in need, and God Our Lord will give you a great reward in Paradise.

Most unworthy and Least Servant and Subject,

Ippolito Desideri.

(Endorsement made in Rome.)

Goan things, 1719.

Lhasà of Tibet,
21st December.

Fr. Hyppolitus Desideri.

After the decree of the Sacred Congregation, by which he was obliged to leave Tibet, his conscience prompting, he asks Your Paternity most earnestly to call him to Rome, because God's cause is here at stake, and he cannot by letters

¹ The two appeals to the Pope and to the Propaganda reached Rome, as we see in the endorsement below.

Sedem, et a Sanct. Sua petit, ut eum jubeat Romam usq; proficisci. Cujus copiam his accludit, quemadmodum quae scribit ad Sacr. Cong.; petit qdsi R.V. ita judicet, promoveri faciat ejus causam coram Sacr. Cong. saltem secreto.

fully say the things he has; and therefore he makes Appeal to the Holy See and asks of His Holiness to order him to go to Rome. A copy hereof he includes in his letter, as also what he writes to the Sacred Congregation. He asks that, if Your Paternity judges proper, you should promote his cause before the Sacred Congregation, at least secretly.

Rs. Jan. 1723.

Answered: January 1723.¹

¹ The answer of January 1723 must have called Desideri to Rome; for why did he leave Delhi, *i.e.*, the Mogor Mission, for Patna in 1725, leaving Patna for Pondicherry on Nov. 21, 1725? He may have been commissioned at the same time to bring to Rome the process for the beatification of Blessed John de Britto. Collecting the necessary papers would have filled the time between his arrival at Pondicherry (Jan. 10, 1726) and his departure thence (Jan. 21, 1727).

I cannot say when Desideri returned to Takpo. We find him there on Sept. 28, 1720 (Puini, 355), as we shall see in Section 19. By that time his companion, when he resided at Trong-gne, in the hospice of the Capuchins, must have been Fr. Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Jesi: for, when on April 4, 1721, Desideri left Takpo for Lhasa and Nepal, Fr. Giuseppe Felice was his companion between Lhasa and Kuti (Puini, 82, 87) and the two must have been a considerable time together if both worked at Trong-gne at the translation of the *Lam-rim-ccae*. (Wessels, p. 225.) 'The Relation alludes to the translation of one or two books by Urgyan-pa, the first apostle of Buddhism in Tibet, and chiefly to the translation of a text wherein the doctrines of Lamaism are briefly exposed "with admirable method, exact compendiousness and singular talent." In fact Desideri asserts having made the translation of this "great and very useful book," for the instruction of the Capuchins Father Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Jesi, the latter writing and he dictating. But, in another part of his Volume, which he wrote while at Rome, he regrets missing a text translated from the Tibetan, which would offer useful exercise to the Missionaries; and he adds: "It would be well, to know all the chief errors of the Tibetans, to procure here (at Rome) the translation of the *Lam-rin.chhen.ba*, or at least the same in the Tibetan language: in that case, if it pleased God to give me life, and I were ordered so, I offer myself to make exactly the translation for the utility of that Mission.'" (Puini, p. XLIII.) 'This book, entitled *Lam-rin.chhen.ba*, "The precious Doctrine", is attributed to Tsongkhapa, the reformer of Lamaism, and the founder of the orthodox Church, now prevailing. *Lam* meaning "way", has also, like the Chinese word *Tao* (road, way), the meaning of doctrine science.' (Note by Puini, p. XLIII n. 2.)

Desideri may have left his translation of the *Lam-rin.chhen.ba* with the Capuchins at Lhasa. We find that Fr. Orazio della Penna ascribes to himself in 1737 the translation of the *Lam-rim.Cembo*, or the three great ways leading to perfection, and of two other works: the *Chiap-sa-Drowà* and the *Sozor-Tharbe-do*. Copies of these translations may perhaps be found yet in the Library of Propaganda or in the Archives of the Capuchin Order at Rome.

15. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus Rome (Kuti, Tibet, 21 Sept., 1721).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist*, 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

†

Molto R.do in X.po P.re
N.ro Gn.le,
P.C.

†

Our Very Reverend Father
General in Christ,¹
The Peace of Christ.

Nel Genn.o di q.to 1721. ricevei una Riveritiss.a della P.S.M.R., in data dell Genn.o dell 1719, e dalla S.C. di Prop.a trasmessami p. mezzo de' P.ri Cappuccini. Come figlio di Obbedienza risolsi subito di eseguire li suoi comandi, e di lasciar q.ta Missione. Allora li torbidi dl Regno, e li gran freddi non mi p.misero il pormi subito in cammino, mà a' 4. di Aprile di quest'anno 1721. partij da Takpo, dove mi trovavo. A' 14. di Aprile arrivai a Lhasà, dove il M.R.P. Prefetto de' P.ri Cappuccini di q.ta Missione mi presentò un decreto dlla Sac. Cong. di Prop. a, che (se mal non mi ricordo) finisce con q.te parole =Immo contra *Decreta ejusdē Cong.nis*.

In January of this year 1721, I received a Most Reverend letter from Your Very Reverend Paternity, dated in January 1719,² and transmitted to me by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda through the Capuchin Fathers. As son of Obedience, I determined at once, to execute your orders and to leave this Mission. The troubled state of the Kingdom³ and the cold season did not then allow me to set out at once; but, on the 4th of April of this year 1721, I left Takpo where I was.⁴ On the 14th of April, I arrived at Lhasà, where the Very Reverend Father Prefect of the Capuchin Fathers of this Mission presented to me a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda,⁵ which (unless I re-

¹ This letter appears to be written on thin Tibet paper. It covers one oblong page, the rotograph of which measures, $11\frac{8}{10}$ inches. Desideri must have been badly off for paper at Kuti; for, though he generally used a fine bold handwriting, he managed to compress 82 lines within the space of $9\frac{4}{10}$ inches. The writing, extremely small and close, is however quite legible, except for a space of 14 lines, where the endorsement, written at Rome on the back of the paper, shows through on the recto.

² January 16, 1719.

³ The Chinese had taken possession of Lhasa in Oct. 1720, and killed as many Giongars as they could find. On the journey from Lhasa to Kuti (April 28—May 1721) Desideri and the Capuchin Father were obliged to choose the Gyantse road, and to avoid the road to Shigatze, owing to the disturbances which were still rife on that side. (Puini, 82.)

⁴ Fr. Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Jesi appears to have come away also on that occasion, after which Trong-gneê in Takpo Khier seems never to have been occupied again.

⁵ The decree of Dec. 12, 1718, ends thus: *Imo, et contra ejus Decreta*.

P.re N.ro M.to R.do, Iddio p.mezzo di S. Ignazio ci comanda, che siamo pronti a ricevere anche con gusto ingiurie, calunnie, e quanto il mondo hà in orrore; è vero; mà è altresì vero che Dio hà eletto la Comp.a p. instromento dlla sua gloria, e della salute dll 'anime; e p.ciò vuole che ella procuri di rendersi tale; Mà come sarà riconosciuta p. tale, se porti in faccia lo smacco di Disobbediente, e p.tinace agl' Ordini di Roma, quando elle non è tale? Io p. me stimo grave, graviss.o obbligo di coscienza il sincerar' il Mondo, che la Comp.a di Gesù non merita tale smacco, p.chè in tutta verità non hà mancato, nè hà fatto in verun modo contro gl' ordini dlla Sac. Cong. intorno a q.ta Missione. Mia intenzione era stendere, e pubblicare un Manifesto a tutto il Mondo sopra ciò, ma temendo dlla disapprovazione dlla P.V.M.R., che mi è Padre, me ne sono astenuto. Solam.te nel Genn.o di q. to anno con altre mie hò fatto istanza, e adesso la rinovo alla P.V.M.R. di venir' a Roma p.chè mi giudico obbligato a parlare. Una tal' istanza (non l' abbia a male) mi sono stimato obbligato di farla alla S.C. di Prop.a e al Som. Pontee.

member badly) ends with these words: '*Immò contra Decreta ejusdem Congregationis*' (Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred Congregation).

Our Very Reverend Father, God commands us through Saint Ignatius to be ready to receive even with pleasure insults, calumnies and whatever the world abhors. It is true; but it is also true that God has chosen the Company for an instrument of his glory and of the salvation of souls; and, therefore, he wishes that she try to render herself such. But, how will she be recognised as such, if she bear on her face the insult of having been disobedient and obstinate against the orders of Rome, when she is not such? I, for me, consider it grave and very grave obligation of conscience to justify to the World that the Company of Jesus does not deserve such insult, because in all truth she has not failed, nor has she acted in any way, against the orders of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda regarding this Mission. My intention was to spread and publish a Manifesto to the whole World on this matter; but, fearing the disapprobation of Your Very Reverend Paternity, who are father to me, I have abstained therefrom. Only, in the January of this year, in other letters of mine, I made the request, and I now renew it, to Your Very Reverend Paternity of coming to Rome, because I consider myself obliged to speak. Such a request (please, do not take it ill) I have considered myself

La P.S.M.R. mi scrive, che quando mi diede licenza di venir' a q.ta Missione, non sapeva che quà stessero altri Religiosi. Scrive molto bene p.chè quando in Roma nel 1712 mi diede tal licenza, quando nel 1713. me la confermò il P. Prov.l di Goa, quando con specifica Patente nel 1714. me la confermò il P. Visitatore, quando a' 30 dl maggio dl 1715. entrai nel p.o Thibet, quando a' 26. di Giug.o 1715. arrivai alla capitale dl 2° Thibet, quando a' 7 di 7bre 1715. entrai in q.to 3° Thibet, quando a' 18. di Marzo 1716. arrivai nella Regia di q.to med.o Thibet; quando a 29. di Aprile, e p.o di Maggio dl 1716. manifestai nella publica Udienza dl Rè esser' io venuto quà p. far Missione, e p. insegnare la s.a Legge di Gesù X.po; quando a' 10. Ag.o 1716. ebbi nel Palazzo Regio non solo p. missione, mà ordine di insegnarla d.ta S. a Legge, e quì restare p. tal fine; Quando in Luglio, Agosto, e 7bre dl 1716. composi in q.ta lingua un libro introduttivo (che dipoi con molta solennità, e publicità presentai a q.to Rè) sopra l' unicità dlla vera legge di salute etc., In nessuno di tali tempi, nè pur' un solo Religioso Europeo si trovava,

obliged to make to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and to the Sovereign Pontiff.¹

Your Very Reverend Paternity writes to me that, when you gave me permission to come to this Mission, you did not know there were other Religious here. You write very well, because, when in Rome you gave me such permission in 1712,² when in 1713 the Father Provincial of Goa confirmed it me, when with a special Patent the Father Visitor confirmed it me in 1714, when on the 30th of May, 1715, I entered the first Tibet, when on the 26th of June, 1715, I arrived at the capital of the second Tibet, when on the 7th of September, 1715, I entered this third Tibet, when on the 18th of March, 1716, I arrived at the Royal City of this same Tibet, when on the 29th of April and on the 1st of May, 1716, I make known in the King's public Audience that I had come to make Mission and to teach the Holy Law of Jesus Christ, when on the 10th of August, 1716, in the Royal Palace I received, not only the mission, but the order to teach the said Holy Law, and to remain here for that purpose, when in July, August, and September of 1716 I composed in this language an introductory book (which, later, I presented with much

¹ He made it to both in Febr. 1717, repeated it to the Holy Father from Kuti, Sept. 21, 1721, and wrote to the Pope and the Propaganda from Takpo, in January 1721 (as we see at the end of this letter for the last date).

² Before his departure from Rome on Sept. 27, 1712.

nè in q.to, nè negl'i altri Thibetti.

Sappia dunque, che la Sac. Cong. di Prop.a, ed il Som. Pont.e Clem. XI. aveva mandati li P.ri Cappuccini a q.to Thibet p.Missionarij Ap.lici. Essi arrivarono quà nel 1708. e dipoi nel 1711. ne partirono; il p.chè lo dirò in Roma, se mi daranno licenza di venire, e se Dio mi ci condurrà con vita, e sanità di corpo, e di mente. Dopo una tal partenza, anco-re che alcuni stessero in Nepàl Regno contiguo a q.to Thibet, nessun di essi rientrò mai in q.to Regno, se non dopo aver saputo il mio arrivo a Lhasà Regia di q.to Thibet, e allora tutti affaccendatisi, al p.o di 8bre 1716. arrivarono a

solemnity and publicity to this King)¹ on the oneness of the true law of salvation, etc., at none of those times, not even one single European Religious was found, either in this Tibet, or in the other Tibets.

Know, therefore, that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and the Sovereign Pontiff Clement XI. had sent the Capuchin Fathers as Apostolic Missionaries to this Tibet. They arrived here in 1708,² and after that, in 1711,³ they left from here. The reason why, I shall tell in Rome,⁴ if they give me leave to come, and if God brings me there with life and soundness of body and of mind. After such a departure, although some stayed in Nepal,⁵ a Kingdom contiguous to this Tibet, none of them ever re-entered this Kingdom, except after having heard of my arrival at Lhasà,

¹ On Jan. 6, 1717.

² More correctly, on June 12, 1707. Cf. for this date, rarely given, Klaproth's *Breve Notizia del Regno del Thibet dal Fra Francesco della Penna di Billi*, an *Extrait du Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Imprimerie Royale, Janvier 1835, p. 41.

³ Fr. Orazio della Penna gives at times the date 1711, at times 1712

⁴ Was not the reason in Desideri's mind what he wrote to the General on Febr. 15, 1717: 'The different Capuchin Fathers who were here during several years did not succeed in making it known that they had come for the purpose of preaching and teaching the Holy Faith, as I know for sure and am ready to swear, if necessary, and as they themselves (at least those here in Tibet) confess. I do not say this to cast a slur on the zeal of the Capuchin Fathers, because it was the fault of those who tried to frighten and impede them, as I also discovered at once.' The only Capuchin then at Lhasa who had been for a period at Lhasa between 1707 and 1711 was the Prefect, Fr. Domenico of Fano. Did he confess that the Capuchins during that period had not succeeded in making it known they were Christian priests? If he did, I doubt his statement. Or that they had not succeeded in making it known that they came to spread their faith? Again, if he did, I doubt the statement.

⁵ Orazio della Penna and two others went from Patna to Nepal in 1714. I do not know any by name who stayed in Nepal between 1707 and 1714.

Lhasà. Diranno, che avevano interrotta, e non lasciata q.ta Missione. Diro altresì io, che la Comp.a sin da tanti anni aveva interrotta, e non lasciata q.ta Missione; e in fatti *non asserit gratis*, mà *constat a posteriori*, poichè in tal tempo da q.ta Prov.ia furono mandati rimandati, e successivam.te rimandati p.ri p. q.ta Missione; mà chi può contrastar con la morte, e li giudizij, e decreti di Dio? Dico dunque che il punto non istà nell'esser la Comp.a costretta a partir da q.ta Miss. ne, poichè non gli mancano

the Royal City of this Tibet,¹ and then all in a great hurry, on the 1st of October, 1716, they arrived at Lhasà.² They will say that they had interrupted, not abandoned, this Mission. I shall say also that the Company had during so many years interrupted, not abandoned, this Mission, and in fact *non asserit gratis* (she does not assert gratuitously), but it is clear *a posteriori*, since during that time there were sent, sent again, and sent again successively, by this Province, Fathers for this Mission;³ but

¹ They may have heard of his arrival at Lhasa through Fr. Freyre, who must have passed through Nepal in June or July 1716, on his return to Agra.

² Desideri wrote on Febr. 15, 1717: 'On learning in Nepal that the Company had arrived here (at Lhasa), he (the Prefect, Fr. Domenico of Fano) was on the point of not coming, and from the Kingdom of Nepal he informed Rome, asking *quid agendum* (what was to be done); and he came with the intent that, if he found me at all punctilious or with any pretensions to priority, he would at once go back with his Companions.' Though he may have found Desideri more punctilious in the matter than he expected, he was right in not going back.

³ To the Jesuits who were established at Tsaparang and at Srinagar (Garhwal), or visited Ladakh, Kuch Bihar, the present Bhutan, Shigatze, Gyantse and Nepal, between 1624 and 1654, we might add Frs. John Grueber and Albert d'. Orville, who between 1661 and 1662 were at Lhasa and Khatmandu (Nepal) during their journey from Pekin to Agra; Fr. Henry Roth, S.J., of Agra, who in 1667, on his return from Europe, appears to have been given by the Viceroy of Goa a letter of introduction to the King of Nepal, and Fr. Mark Anthony Santucci, S.J., who between Sept. 1679 and January 1780 was for some months in Nepal. (For the last name see H. Jossion, S.J., *Hist. de la Mission du Bengale Occidental*, Vol. 1, p. 91.)

Fr. Henry Roth, S.J., wrote from Rome, in 1664, shortly before the battle of St. Gothard, which was fought on Aug. 1, 1664 (Cf. Stöcklein's *Welt-Bott*, No. 35, p. 113): 'If God grants me life and his blessing, I shall pay a visit to the vast Kingdom of Pettent (Bhutan) or Lassa, in order to settle in the town of Nepal: for I cannot be harassed there by the Mahometans, who throw between our feet one obstacle (?) after the other, and are almost our only hindrance.' (*Gibt Gott mir das Leben und seinen Segen/ will ich einen Versuch thun in das weitsichtige Reich Pettent oder Lassa, und mich in der Stadt Nepal setzen: dann allda ich von denen Mahometanern nicht kan beunruhiget werden | welche anderwärtig uns einen Brügel nach dem anderen zwischen die Füsse werfen | und schier unser einzige Hindernus seynd.*)

He continues (p. 114): 'In the Kingdom of Pegu there are for want of our people only two Missionaries; in the country of Tibet, however, owing to the very same reason, there is none at all, although the King has invited me by letters the fourth time to convert his Kingdom. Only,

luoghi, e Regni dove occuparsi; mà dico che a mio parere la Comp.a è gravissimam.te obbligata a giustificarsi corā hominibus, e a mostrare che non sussiste q.llo sfregio postogli in fronte a forza di male Informazione *Immo contra Decreta ejusdē Sac. Cong.nis*—Io p.me col far' istanza al Som. Pont.e, alla Sac. Cong., ed alla P.V.M.R. di venir' ad informare legittimam. te e a parlare di quel che devo, e con replicarle adesso l'istanza, specificandone un poco il motivo stimo di avere scaricato

who can oppose death and the judgments and decrees of God? I say then that the point is not that the Company is constrained to leave this Mission, for places and Kingdoms are not wanting for her to keep herself busy: but I say that in my opinion the Company is very seriously obliged to justify herself *coram hominibus* (before men) and to show that the slur cast to her face by dint of bad informations: '*Immo contra Decreta ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis*' (Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred

I was not able to travel thither, as obedience has bound me to the Christianity in Mogol'. (*In dem Reich Pegu seynd Wegen Mangel unserer Leuten nur zwey Missionarii: in der Landschaft Tibet aber aus eben dieser Ursach gar keiner: obschon der König zum vierdtemal mich | sein Köhngreich zu bekehren durch Briefe eingeladen hat. Allein es stunde nicht bey mir dahin zu reisen|weil mich der Gehorsam an die Christenheit in Mogol angebunden hat.*) When in 1709 Fr. Koch wrote that a King of Tibet had invited the Fathers to his kingdom, had there perhaps survived a remembrance of the letters addressed to Fr. Roth? Is it likely that the King of Tibet who wrote to Fr. Roth before his journey to Rome (1662-1664) was merely the King of Srinagar (Garhwal) at whose court Roth was between 1656 and 1659? (Wessels, p. 199 n. 2.) Further study may clear up the problem.

Is it possible that Fr. Roth should have received by Aug. 1, 1664, four letters from the King of Nepal inviting him to his country? We can hardly imagine that any of these letters had been received before the arrival of Frs. Grueber and d'Orville from Nepal to Agra, shortly before April 8, 1662. Granting that Grueber brought the first of these letters with him to Agra, when could the next three have been received? Grueber and Roth arrived at Rome on February 20, 1664. They must have set out about the middle of 1662 from Agra. Yet, before Aug. 1, 1664, Roth speaks of settling down in Nepal on his return to India. In the Mission Catalogue of November 1667 he is mentioned as destined to begin the Nepal Mission. He died at Agra, on June 20, 1668, less than 48 years old, and his death appears to have been due to hardships contracted in trying to open a new Mission in Tibet, broadly understood. The letter of the Viceroy, Count de S. Vicente, to the King of Nepal is dated Goa, February 23, 1766. The letter, one of mere friendship, urged on the Viceroy by the King of Portugal, states that the bearers of the letter are Fathers (Jesuits) going to the Kingdom of Nepal in order to live and settle therein. We can hardly doubt that Roth, if not one of the bearers of the letters from Goa, was destined to present it at the Nepal court. How he conducted that Mission is not known so far. Probably he had a companion. Neither do we know whether the king of Nepal was of Khatmandu or of Bhatgaon; but we know that the King of Khatmandu, Pratapa Malla, had taken such a liking to Grueber and d'Orville that he was unwilling to let them go except on condition of their returning. (See our Doc. 30 at the end.)

la mia coscienza. Se la P.S. M.R. mi darà licenza, ubbidirò, verrò, e se sarà necessario, e così comandi l' Obbedienza così comandi l' Obbedienza tornerò dove mi manderanno, e comanderanno, e dove sia volontà di Dio.

La P.S.M.R. nella sopra accennata sua lettera da me ricevuta nel Genn.o di q.to anno mi comandava, che le dessi notizia dlla esecuzione. Può liberam.te rappresentar' alla Sac. Cong.di Prop.a, come io con tutta veneraz.ne rispettando li di lei reveritiss.mi comandi, senza tergiversazione, senza dimora, e anche senza repugnanza hò obbedito fedelm.te. Vero è, che io presentem. te non istò fuor' affatto dl Thibet, mā nell' ultimo confine di esso, mā q.to è (come potrà informarsi dlla verità) p.chè in q.to spazio di mezzo trà q.ti paesi freddissimi, e gl' altri caldiss.mi in q.ti Mesi, cioè sino a Xbre è non probabile, mā certa, certifica, inevitabile la morte a volersi inoltrare, onde in tanto non vò presentem.te innanzi,

Congregation), is irrelevant. As for me, by making to the Sovereign Pontiff, and to Your Very Reverend Paternity, the request to come lawfully and inform, and to speak of what I ought, and by renewing the request now, specifying somewhat the motive thereof, I deem I have discharged my conscience. If Your Very Reverend Paternity gives me leave, I shall obey, I shall come; and, if necessary and Obedience this commands, I shall return whither they will order me and send me, and where it be God's will.

In your above-mentioned letter received by me in the January of this year, Your Very Reverend Paternity commanded me to give you information as to the execution. You can freely represent to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda how I, with all veneration, respecting their very reverend commands, without tergiversation, without delay,¹ and even without repugnance, have obeyed faithfully. It is true that for the moment I am not quite outside Tibet, but at the last limit thereof; but, as you will be able to certify the truth thereof, that is because in this intervening space between these very cold countries and the others which are very warm, during these months, that is up to December, death is not only probable,

¹ The words of the decree of Propaganda of Dec. 12, 1717, were that 'without any deferring, tergiversation and delay, he (the General of the Society) recall thence and remove the Religious who without consulting the Sacred Congregation, nay, even against its Decrees, went to cultivate those Missions'.

in quanto Iddio me lo proibisce; e p.chè una tal proibizione è affatto indispensabile, lo proibisce ancora la med. a Sac. Cong.ne.

Del resto arrivato che sarà il tempo quanto è dal canto mio infallibil.te partirò, e andrò al n.ro Coll.o di Agra. Dissi quanto è dal canto mio; Perchè se Dio in q.to tempo mi chiama a se, ò se mi giungessero ordini in contrario di chi mi può comandara, solam.te in tal caso non partirò; del resto fuori di q.te due circostanze, infallibil.te infallibil.te stia con l'animo ropisato.

La supplico a rappresentar' alla Sac. Cong.ne di Prop.a, e al Som. Pont.e, come hò bisogno di manifestar loro cose molto importanti agl'interessi dlla S.a Fede, e dlla Sac.Cong.ne circa q.ta Missione del Thibet, e che io sgravo la mia coscienza sopra di loro.

La P.S.M.R. diceva parim.te nella sua sopra accennata lettera, che nel 1718. p. la via di Portogallo mi aveva mandato l'istesso orine, e che aveva in detta occasione, e via risposto ad alcune mie. M.to R.do P.re N.ro, io da q.to Thibet hò scritto a lei non molte, ma moltiss.me lettere, e di nessuna di esse hò avuto nè pur una risposta. Mi sonovenute alcun altre lettere varie volte di altri N.ri, come dl P.Gio. Batt.a Conti più volte, dl P.Galuzzi,

but certain, attested, inevitable, for who wants to go further; hence, for the present I do not go forward, inasmuch as God forbids it me, and, as such prohibition admits of no dispensation, the same Sacred Congregation of Propaganda too forbids it me.

However, when the time will come, I shall, as much as depends on me, start without fail, and shall go to our College of Agra. I said: as much as depends on me: because, if God at this time calls me to himself, or if orders reach me to the contrary from who can command me, in that case only shall I not start; these two circumstances excepted, I shall start without fail, without fail, hence, let Your Very Reverend Paternity be easy in mind.

I request you to represent to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda how I require making known to them things very important for the interests of the Holy Faith and of the Sacred Congregation concerning this Mission of Tibet, and that I discharge my conscience on them.

Your Very Reverend Paternity also said in your above-mentioned letter that in 1718, by way of Portugal, you had sent me the same order, and that on the same occasion and by the same route you had answered to some of my letters. Our Very Reverend Father, from this Tibet I have written to you, not many, but very many letters, and to not one of these have I received even one answer. There have come to me some other letters several

di P. Corsoni, di M.^{ro} Silvestri, &c. mà dlla P.S.M.R. solam.te mi è venuta la soprad.a, e nel 7bre di 1718. mi giunse la di lei risposta a quella scritta da Goa. P.re. M.to R.do, secondo l'umano è cosa che desanima molto li Missionarij, e li potrebbe far raffreddare nel servizio dlla Comp.a. Sò che non è difetto dlla P.V.M.R., e perciò dico che comandi molto calcatam.te a' Sup.ri di q.ta Prov. ia, acciocchè con tutta premura ponghino diligenza, affinchè le lettere de' Sup.ri maggiori non si p.dino tutte, tutte affatto, mà almeno alcuna arrivi nelle mani, de' poveri Missionarij, affinchè restino q.ti maggiorm.te animati. Dell' altre risposte, che aspettavo, non ne stavo con tanta avidità, mà la risposta di q.la, che le inviai nel Febb.o del 1717. con una inclusa p.presentarsi a' Piedi di Som. Pont.e, ne sono stato p. molto tempo con somma aspettazione, mà nè pur q.ta mi è giunta, e forse sarà q.la, che la P.S.(?) M.R. dice avermi scritta nel 1718. di risposta. Io dico, pazienza. Mà la P.S.M.R. p.il motivo sopradetto, che è molto considerabile, non deve in verun modo soffrire; mi con ogni calore ed efficacia deve porre li dovuti remedij.

times from others of Ours, as from Fr. Giovanni Battista Conti, several times, from Fr. Galuzzi, from Fr. Corsoni, from Master Silvestri, etc.;¹ but from Your Very Reverend Paternity there came only the abovesaid one, and in the September of 1718 there arrived your answer to the letter written from Goa.² Very Reverend Father, humanly speaking this is the thing which much discourages Missionaries, and which might make them grow cold in the service of the Company. I know it is no fault of Your Very Reverend Paternity, and I judge that you should order very strictly the Superiors of this Province, with all haste to use diligence, so that the letters of the higher Superiors be not lost all of them, all of them quite, but that at least one of them should reach the hands of the poor Missionaries, that they may be the more encouraged. Of the other answers I was expecting I was not so eager; but, as for the answer to the letter I sent you in the February of 1717, with one enclosed to be laid at the Feet of the Sovereign Pontiff, I have been waiting for it with keenest expectation for a long time past; but not even that has reached me, and perhaps it is the one of which Your Very Reverend Paternity says you wrote an answer in 1718.³

¹ To Fr. John Baptist Conti and Fr. Corsoni Desideri commended himself in his letter to Fr. Piccolimini (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714).

² There were 2 letters from Goa, one of Nov. 12, 1713, the other of Nov. 15, 1713.

³ Very likely, indeed: for it was received in Rome in 1718, as Desideri, says lower; and as we have the proof for the letter to the General, which

P.re N.ro, la confesso ingenuam.te quello che hò nel cuore. Io(?) come (?) duna (?) mia lettera mandai nel 1717. al Som. Pot.e, una acclusa, alla P.V.M.R. l' a ltra acclusa, al S.re Card.(e?) Tolomei, (2) *words? not read* acclusa al Sing.re Co: (*ending not read*) Fedri(?) Mi si asserisco P.certo, che a.te durono in Roma recapitate nel 1718. dezzo dl Rev.do allora p. Proc.re, in oggi Cn.l de' P.ri Cappuccini non(?) esser venuta nè pur' una sillaba di rispost dl Som. Pont.e ò a suo nome, ed il sape (*sic*) p. evidenza come egli, senza esser(e) prevenuto in verun modo e averne motivo antecedente, nel 1714. scrisse una sua lettera a un Rè infedele, mi hà sommam.te, in estremo grand.te(?) scandalizato, L'istessa impressione

I say: Patience. But Your Very Reverend Paternity, for the reason abovesaid, which is a very considerable one, must not bear with it in any way, but must with all warmth and efficacy apply the necessary remedies.

Our Father, I shall confess to you candidly what I have in my heart. When in 1717 I sent a letter of mine to the Sovereign Pontiff (I sent) one enclosed to Your Very Reverend Paternity,¹ another enclosed to the Lord Cardinal Tolomei, (another?) enclosed to the Lord (Count?) Fedri(?).² I declare for certain that these were delivered in Rome in 1718 through the Reverend then Father Procurator General, now General, of the Capuchin Fathers. That not a syllable of answer should have come from the Sovereign Pontiff, or in his name, and that I should know to evidence how he, without being forestalled in any way, and having had no antecedent motive for it, in 1714 wrote a letter of his to an infidel King,³ has very much,

is in our present collection, we have the proof for the letter to the Pope, since published a letter of Febr. 13, 1717, in his *Bibliotheca* a MS. copy of a letter to the Pope, dated Febr. 13, 1717, was seen by Puini in the Library of the Propaganda.

¹ The letter to the Pope was enclosed in the letter to the General, and so must the others have been.

² The writing is illegible chiefly at this place, for the reason given in our note I.

³ We know of no other letter to an infidel King written in 1714 than one by Pope Clement XI to the King of Tibet, Cinghes-Khang, as Desideri regularly spells the name. Why does Desideri here consider himself scandalised at such a letter? Because the king had given the Capuchins no occasion for gratitude in 1707-1711? We know too little of that period to be able to judge of the reason. The letter of the Pope speaks, however, in very glowing terms of the kindness of the king to the Capuchins during that period, and that on the authority of Fr. Domenico of Fano who had come to Rome from Lhasa. In his letter of Febr. 15, 1717, to the General, Desideri did not say he had been scandalised. He

potrebbe fare agl' altri Missionarij da Comp.a, se scrivendo al p.o Sup.re dlla Comp.a e a chi tiene il luogo di S. Ignazio, non vedessero mai giungere nè pur' una risposta. Torno a ripetere, che *constat a posteriori*, che il difetto non è dlla P.V. M.R., e che p.cio con tutta efficacia e calore cerchi di chi sia la colpa, e assolutam.te vi ponga rimedio.

In altre mie mi sono doluto con la P.V.M.R. che dal 1718. in cui da Agra m' era giunto uno scariss.o sussidio, sino a q.to 1721. ero stato totalm.te abbandonato, e stavo in estreme miserie, e ultime necessità. In fatti q.to viaggio l' hò fatto (inclusivè contutte le fermate, e dimore necessarie, &c.) e mi convien farlo con denaro parte imprestatomi da q.ti P.ri Capuccini, e parte ricevuto p.limosina; e ciò sarà sino ad io arrivar' a Patnà nel Mogol, dove (conforme ebbi

extremely, scandalised me. The other Missionaries of the Company might have the same impression, if, when writing to the first Superior of the Company, to him who holds the place of Saint Ignatius, they never saw arriving even one answer. I repeat again that it is clear *a posteriori* that the fault is not with Your Very Reverend Paternity, and therefore with all efficacy and warmth seek out who is at fault, and apply to it effectually the remedy.

In other letters of mine I complained to Your Very Reverend Paternity that since 1718, when from Agra there reached me a very paltry subsidy, up to this year 1721, I was completely abandoned and lived in extreme misery and utmost need. In fact, this journey I have undertaken it (including the necessary halts and delays, etc.) and I must make it with money partly borrowed from these Capuchin Fathers, and partly received in alms;¹ and that

himself translated the Pope's letter into Tibetan, and was present on Dec. 4, 1716, when the letter was presented to the King. We publish the Latin text and give a translation of it among our Materials for the history of the Capuchins in Tibet. Even if the King had given no antecedent motive for kindness on the part of the Pope, for an exchange of letters and presents it was gracious on his part to command the Fathers to his kindness. Such was the practice of the Popes in the Middle Ages, as we have abundant proofs in the case of the Emperors of Ethiopia, the Moghul Empire, and China, when they sent thither the Dominicans and Franciscans.

I do not think that the passages can be understood to refer to a letter for an infidel king sent by the Procurator General of the Capuchins. We have no clue to such a letter. If we had, we should think of some other infidel king, who had given no antecedent motive for such a letter, and should then think of Nepal, or perhaps the King of Sikkim, etc.

¹ Desideri had made so many friends in Tibet that, when, at last he was obliged to accept alms, for his return, not a little would have been pressed on his acceptance, had not many of his best friends lost most of their goods during the Giongar troubles of 1717-21. Before that, he had refused help on more than one occasion. Cf. Puini, 315.

lettera dal direttore Olandese l'altra sera) sono giunti p.mio sussidio quegl' aiuti che da tanto tempo in quà con tante lacrime hò dimandato. Perciò siccome p. il passato hò notificato necessità, a cui sono stato ridotto, così adesso manifesto l'aiuto preparatomi.

Mi souviene adesso un' altro punto. Nel Marzo dl 1718. notificai alla P.V.M.R., e di nuovo notifico, como p.esser' io stato solo in q.ta Missione senza verun' altro dlla Comp.a ancorchè abbia avuto con molte replicate lettere l' avviso di far la Professione, p. non aver' alcuno competente, in mano di cui poterla fare, non potrò farlo se non arrivato in Agra, (se Dio mi darà vita, e sanità) nel fut.o Mese di Marzo dl 1722, ancorchè p.me il tempo di farla fosse nel principio dl 1718. Non istò a ripetere li motivi apportati alla P.V.M.R. nel Marzo dl 1718. circa il supplicarla a degnarsi di farla correre, come se fosse stata fatta al suo tempo debito; mà tralasciati qui tali motivi, le rinuovo la med.ma supplica, confidando, che l' esser' io stato con tante miserie in q.ti luoghi p.servizio dlla Comp.a non mi si abbia a convertire in pregiudizio di giudicare male di me, da chi ne' tempi futuii negl' Archivij leggerà, e troverà aver' io fatta la Professione quattro anni, e più dopo il debito tempo.

will be so until I arrive at Patnà in the Mogol, where (according to a letter I had the other evening from the Dutch Director) there have arrived for my subsidy those helps which for such a long time heretofore I have asked with so many tears. Accordingly, as I have made known the straits to which in the past I was reduced, so I now make known the help prepared me.

I now think of another point. In the March of 1718 I notified to Your Very Reverend Paternity, and I notify again, how, having been alone in this Mission, without any other of the Company (though I had had in many repeated letters the instruction of making the Profession), yet, having no one competent in whose hands I could make it, I shall not be able to make it until I arrive at Agra (if God grants me life and health) in the next month of March 1722;¹ however, the time for me to make it was in the beginning of 1718. I shall not repeat the reasons adduced to Your Very Reverend Paternity in the March of 1718, regarding my request to you that you may deign to make it count as if it had been made at the time when it was due; but, omitting here these motives, I renew to you the same request, trusting that my having been in these places amid such miseries for the service of the Company, will not in my case be turned to the prejudice that I shall be thought ill of by who

¹ He was back at Agra on April 20, 1722.

In fine posto umilm.te a' suoi piedi la supplico umilm.te di farsi, che abbia la consolazione di qualchè sua risposta che in fatti mi giunga nelle mie mani, e a darmi qualchè riscontro, se le lettere da me mandate nel Genn.o scorso al Som.Pont.e, alla Sac. Cong.ne di Prop.a, e alla P.V.M.R. p. mezzo de'. P.ri C app.ni p. la via di Francia, siano giunte, ò nò.

La supplico in oltre a pregar' incessantem.te e far molto da' N.ri pregare p.me, acciocchè se p. li miei demeriti mi sono reso indegno di servire (come bramavo sino alla morte) la Comp.a in q.ta Miss. ne, almeno p.mezzo dlle loro efficaci intercessioni obtenga da Dio grazia di poterla in qualchè altro modo servire, e non esser' a essa inutile sino alla mia morte. In fine la supplico umilm.te a ringraziarmi dlla sua Paterna benedizione.

D.P.V.M.R.

Kutti, ultimo confine dl Tibet, e p.o termino dlla giurisdizione di Nepal, 21. 7bre 1721.

Ind.mo in X.po Servo, e Minimo Suddito,

Ippolito Desiderj.

will in future times read in the Archives and will find that I made the Profession four years and more after the time when I should have.

At the end, placed humbly at your feet, I humbly beseech you to make me have the consolation of some answer of yours which shall duly come into my hands, and to give me some indication whether the letters sent by me last January to the Sovereign Pontiff, to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and to Your Very Reverend Paternity, through the Capuchin Fathers by way of France, have arrived or not.

Moreover, I beg of you to pray unceasingly, and to make Ours pray much, for me, so that, if owing to my demerits I have made myself unworthy of serving the Company in this Mission (as I longed to do till death), I may at least through their efficacious intercessions obtain from God the grace of serving her in some other manner, until my death, and not be useless to her. Finally I humbly beg you to favour me with Your Fatherly Blessing.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's

Kutti, the last limit of Tibet,¹ and the first limit of the jurisdiction of Nepal, the 21st of September 1721.

Most unworthy Servant in Christ, and Least Subject.

Ippolito Desideri.

¹ Kuti goes also by the name of Nilam. (Wessels, 192.)

(*Endorsement made in Rome*): (*Endorsement made in Rome*):

Goana 1721.

Kutti ultimo termino Thibetti 21. 7 bris.

P. Hyppolitus Desideri.

Dat rationem, cur tandiu in Thibetto demoratus sit post decretum exeundi, quia expectavit occasionem opportunam. Queritur, quod non acceperit responsum à Sum. Pontif. a Sacr. Cong. et a P.V. litteris datis 1718. Reiterat preces ad eundū (?) Romam, quia ad id tenatur in conscientia. Petit ut moneantur Sup. res. Prov.æ ne retineant multo tempore literas Superioris Maioris ad subditos. Cum non habuerit Socium Societatis, in cujus manibus Professionem emitteret, quae emissa fuerat 1718; illam emittet Agræ 1722; petit ut restituatur ad suam antiquitatem.

Goan things, 1721.

Kutti, the last limit of Tibet, 21st September.

Fr. Hyppolitus Desideri.

He gives as his reason for having remained so long in Tibet, after the decree of going away, that he awaited a favourable opportunity. He complains of not having received an answer from the Sovereign Pontiff, from the Sacred Congregation, and from Your Paternity to the letter of 1718. He reiterates the request of going to Rome, because he is bound thereto in conscience. He asks that the Superiors of the Province be told not to keep back for a long time letters of a higher Superior to his subjects. As he had no companion of the Society in whose hands to make the Profession, which was to have been made in 1718, he will make it at Agra in 1722; he asks that it be brought back to the former date.

Rs. Jan. 1723.

Answered: January 1723.

16. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to His Holiness the Pope (Kuti, Tibet, Sept. 21, 1721).¹ (p. 382).

Most Blessed Father,

Obeying the orders received, I left the Tibet Mission and am on my way to the Mohol.² I make bold humbly to prostrate myself at Your Holiness's most Venerated Feet, and to represent to Your Holiness that I feel the need of manifesting by word of mouth and personally to Your Holiness some matters concerning the Holy Catholic Faith and its propagation, which I am greatly

¹ Cf. Puini, pp. 282-383. He says at p. 360 n. 1 that this letter is found in MS. in the Library of the Propaganda. Sommervogel, Vol. IX, No. 9, says this letter appeared in *La Revista Europea*, July 1876, p. 293.

² Mogol.

obliged (p. 383) in conscience to make known. Meanwhile, I exonerate my conscience before Your Most Venerated Feet, humbly beseeching Your Holiness to deign call me to Rome, under an express permission and command, and to see, in that case, that the Father General of the Company of Jesus order me, with all solicitude and speed, to come thither. With all my heart I pray to the Most High to deign grant to Your Holiness a long, prosperous and peaceful reign, for the exaltation and propagation of the Holy Faith.

And, hoping for a favourable answer to this prayer, I add to it another, that of being admitted to kiss most humbly and reverently Your Sacred Feet and imploring Your Paternal, Apostolic Blessing and Indulgence.

Kutti, the 21st of September, 1721.

(Your) Very Humble, very
Reverent and very Devoted
Subject, Servant and Son.

Ippolito Desideri,

of the Company of Jesus.

17. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society in Rome (Kuti, Tibet, 5 Oct., 1721).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Epist.*, 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

†

M.to R.do in X.po P.re
N.ro,
P.C.

†

Our Very Reverend Father
in Christ,
The Peace of Christ.

Con altre mie hò notificato alla P.V.M.R., aver'io obbedito agl' ordini dlla med.a P.V.M.R., e dlla Sac. Cong. di Prop.a con lasciar q.ta Miss e dl Thibet. P.ma di porre l' ultimo passo (tanto, e non più mi rimane) fuori dl Thibet, ho giudicato d'appellarmi al Som. Pont.e, specialm.te p. la non meritata taccia data alla Comp.a con q.lle parole dl decreto dl 1718. *Iñò contra*

In other letters of mine I have notified to Your Very Reverend Paternity that I have obeyed the orders of the same Your Very Reverend Paternity and of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, by leaving this Mission of Tibet. Before making the last step (so much, and not more remains to me) outside Tibet, I have judged proper to appeal¹ to the Sovereign Pontiff, especially be-

¹ By a new appeal to the Pope, enclosed with this letter, as appears below.

Decr.a ejusdē Sac. Cong.nis.
Così mi sono stimato gravissimam.te obbligato in coscienza a difendere la mia carissima Madre la Comp.a di Gesù. Li motivi non li replico, p.chè li potrà la V.P.M.R. intendere dalla copia (che quì accludo) dll' appello mandato a sua Santità med.ma. Se hò fatto male, non è malizia di volontà, ma errore d' Intelletto.

Dall' altre mie lettere, e da q.ta combinerà la P.V.M.R., essermi io fermato già quasi cinque Mesi in quest'ultimo termine di q.to Thibet, e si maraviglerà di tal dimora. Nò, P.re N.ro M.to R.do. Iddio vuol la pronta Obbedienza, mà senza ammarsi¹ spontaneam.te. In q.ti Mesi passati, e tuttavia un'altro poco, l'inoltrarsi avanti è un certo morire. In atti così è merto quel P. Cappuccino, che a' 27. di Maggio giunse qui in mia compagnia, e che, restando io quì, proseguì p. Nepàl. Adesso col sopravvenir' il freddo anche in quei Paesi bassi cessa moralm.te il p. icolo, onde io coll' aiuto di Dio, e con la fiducia in esso partirò p. Nepàl, e da Nepàl andarerò (se a Dio piacerà) al Coll.o d'Agra, dove sp.o tro-

cause of the undeserved slur cast on the Company by these words of the decree of 1718: *Imò contra Decreta ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis* (Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred Congregation). Thus have I judged myself very seriously obliged in conscience to defend my very dear Mother the Company of Jesus. The motives I do not repeat, because Your Reverend Paternity will be able to understand them from the copy (which I here include)¹ of the *Appello* (I appeal) sent to His Holiness himself. If I have done ill, it is not ill will, but error of judgment.

By combining other letters of mine with this one, Your Very Reverend Paternity will see that I have stayed already about five months at this last limit of this Tibet, and you will marvel at the delay. No, Our Very Reverend Father. God wants prompt Obedience, but not that we kill ourselves. To go forward during these past months, and for a little while longer, is certain death. In fact, that Capuchin Father who on the 17th of May arrived with me here, and who, while I stayed here, continued to Nepal, died in that way. At present, when the cold comes down also on these low countries, the danger morally ceases; hence with the help of God and with trust in him, I shall leave for Nepal, and from Nepal shall go (if it please God) to

¹ *Sic, for ammazzarsi.*

¹ The letter of Kuti, dated Sept. 21, 1721, with the present one.

verò gl'ordini dl P. Prov. le di Goa.

Con q.ta occasione rinnovo all P.V.M.R. l' istanza, e supplica fatta in alter moltis.e mie lettere, cioè, che si degni di mandarmi espresso ordine di portarmi in p.sona a Roma, avendo necessità di parlar' a voce alla P.V.M.R., alla S.C. di Prop.a, e al Som. Pont.e.

P.re N. ro il mio intento non è di voler'a forza la Comp.a nel Thibet. Q.to non è affare mio; mà il mio intento è di porre in chiaro l'Innocenza dlla Comp.a, li suoi Jus, privilegi, e ragioni, e nell' istesso tempo proveder'al bene di q.te. anime, che Dio m'aveva dato, ò col tornar quà la Comp.a, ò se non vogliono così, almeno con manifestar' alla S.C. di Prop.a, e al Som. Pon. e molte cose necessariss.e le q.li non posso tutte notificare p. Lettere, Memoriali, e Scritture, mà solo a voce. Se la P.V.M. R. mi concederà la grazia di portarmi col suo comando a Roma, *bene quidē*; se nò; p.

the College of Agra, where I hope to find the orders of the Provincial of Goa.¹

On this occasion I renew to Your Reverend Paternity the request and petition made in very many other letters of mine, to wit, that you deign to send me the express order of going to Rome, in person, as I have need to speak orally to Your Very Reverend Paternity, to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and to the Sovereign Pontiff.

Our Father, my intention is not to want by all means the Company in Tibet. That is not business of mine; but my intention is to make clear the innocence of the Company, its right, privileges and reasons, and at the same time to provide for the welfare of these souls which God had given me, either by the return of the Company hither, or, if they do not want it so, by at least manifesting to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and to the Sovereign Pontiff many things most necessary which cannot all be made known by Letters, Memorials and Writings, but orally only. If Your

¹ In his *Relazione*, Desideri writes: 'The Capuchin Father who had come from Lhasa and had been my companion up to here, continued his journey, as he had been appointed to the hospice of Kattmandù in Nepal; but, after arriving at the said city, he passed to a better life two months later. I, on the contrary, judged it advisable to remain at Kutti till the winter, because the transition from the climate of Thibet to that of Nepal, and from Nepal to the Mogol, is very harmful; the more so as at that time there was great mortality at Kattmandù, owing to Influenza, as Father Felice of Morro just mentioned experienced. I left therefore Kutti on the 14th December in company with Father Felice of Montecchio, who had arrived there meanwhile.' (Puini, 87.)

Desideri must have met Fr. Felice of Montecchio again at Patna in 1725, and it was the lot of both to meet again at Rome in 1728 and plead against each other their reasons for having been first in the field. The Tibetan field, however barren of results, was in the eyes of both too good to be given up without a square fight.

parte mia averò sgravato la mia coscienza.

Supplico la P.V.M.R., che le risposte dlle lettere di quest' anno, che la P.V.M.R., si degnerà mandarmi, le consegnerà, e faccia inviare con tutta raccomandazione, poichè l'altre risposte (toltane la p.a alle lettere di Goa) non mi sono giunte, e la P.V.M.R. dice averle mandate p. Goa.

In fine unilm.te prostrato a suoi piedi la supplico dlla paterna Bened.nee S.S. Sacr.ij.

D.P.V.M.R.

Kutti, ultimo termine dlla mia partenza dal Thibet, 5. 8bre 1721.

Ind.mo in X.po servo, e Suddito,

Ippolito Desiderj.

(*Endorsement made in Rome*):

Goana, 1721.

Kutti, Thibetti 5. Octobris.
P. Hyppolitus Desideri.

Executus est promptissime ordinationem a S.Cong. et a P.V. emanatam exeundi à Thibet; post obtentam comoratus est tandiu ibi, quia expectabat occasionem minus noxiam, et in qua ejus vita certum periculum non subiret, ut successit comiti Capuccino, qui mortuus

Very Reverend Paternity grants me the favour of going by your order to Rome, *bene quidem* (well indeed); if not, I for my part shall have discharged my conscience.

I beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity that, for the answers to the letters of this year which Your Very Reverend Paternity will deign to send me, you consign them and have them sent with every recommendation, because the other answers (excepting the first, answering the letters from Goa) have not reached me, and Your Reverend Paternity says you sent them by Goa.

At the end, humbly prostrate at your feet, I crave your Fatherly Blessing and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's,

Kutti, last limit for my departure from Tibet, the 5th October, 1721.

Most Unworthy Servant in Christ, and Subject,

Ippolito Desideri.

(*Endorsement made in Rome*):

Goan things, 1721.

Kutti of Tibet, 5th October.
Fr. Hyppolitus Desideri.

He complied most promptly with the ordination sent by the Sacred Congregation and by Your Paternity of leaving Tibet; after he had received it, he remained so long there because he awaited an opportunity less harmful, one in which his life should not be

est. Reiterat deprecationes ad obtinendam facultatem adeundi Roman, quas interponit tactus scrupulo, et ductus conscientia; et sperat eam exoraturum ad S. Fidei, et veritatis manifestationem.

exposed to evident danger, as happened to his Capuchin companion, who died. He renews his request to obtain the permission of going to Rome, bringing it forward, because induced by a scruple of conscience; and he hopes to obtain it for the sake of manifesting the (interests of the) Holy Faith and the truth.

Rs. Jan. 1723.

Answered: January 1723.

18. The Mission of Tibet is assigned to the Capuchins (1732).

(From a note in the possession of the Society of Jesus; no date.)

Missio Tibetana privative Capuccinis tradita.

The Mission of Tibet given over exclusively (?) to the Capuchins.

(*In another writing*): Nell' Anno 1732. la Sacra Cong. ne di Propaganda, senza toccare verun'altra cosa, di quelle re quali si agitano nelle scritture del p. Felice da Montecchio, e del P. Desideri, decretò che la Missione del Tibet appartenesse privative a PP. Capuccini: come era stato decretato da Papa Clemente XI.

In the year 1732, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, without touching any other thing of those which are discussed in the writings of Fr. Felice of Montecchio and of Fr. Desideri, decreed that the Mission of Tibet should belong exclusively (?) to the Capuchin Fathers, as had been decreed by Pope Clement XI.

19. Desideri on the political events in Tibet (1707-1721). (P. 338).

I.

This great kingdom of Great Tibet fell into the hands and power of the Tartars in the following manner.

The Tibetan king, who reigned at the end of last century (P. 339) and in the beginning of the present one, being continually at war with the king of the kingdom of *Ciang* (*Tsang*.) had appointed, as his generalissimo and the defender of his kingdom, a Tartar prince, the brother of the petty king of Kokonor and a relative of the Emperor of China. Through his valour, this prince put an end to the wars continually waging between the King of *Uri* (*dBus*) and the King of *Ciang* (*gTsang*).

He conquered the latter kingdom, took the great fortress of Jégacé, destroyed (? *col disfare*) the king and all his people and family, and subjected the whole country above-mentioned to the king of *Uu*, or of Lhasà. The said Tartar prince having won the applause and esteem of many by this victory, and by his valour and prudence, the ungrateful Tibetan king, carried away by envy and political suspicions, requited badly the services of the defender of his kingdom; for, instead of rewarding him liberally, he caused poison to be secretly given to him and to one of his ministers, called *Targum-treè-sciij*. The treachery being remarked in time, they succeeded, thanks to medicines, in escaping the danger. The ungrateful king did not desist, however; he tried again to poison them, though once more in vain. After that, the Tartar prince placed himself at the head of his troops and declared war against the Tibetan king. In a short time, he took possession of Lhasà and forced the king to retire to a strong fortress, at no great distance from the said city. Having tried in vain to force the place, the Tartars had recourse to trickery. They made the said king believe that the Great Lama himself, appealing to his revered authority, called him out of that place and invited him to accept the terms of peace which the Tartars would propose. The credulous king left the fortress, with the result that the Tartar prince and the minister suddenly fell upon him and killed him. Having thus taken possession of the whole kingdom, the Tartar prince became king under the name of *Cinghes-khang*, and his minister became viceroy. The whole kingdom agreed to the change, which was confirmed by the authority of the Emperor of China, who then and subsequently sent ambassadors to acknowledge Cinghes-khang as absolute master of the whole of Tibet and establish him the more firmly and for ever on the throne.

The nobility of his extraction, his kinship with the Emperor of China and his personal valour rendered *Cinghes-khang* greatly feared and respected by all his subjects; the foreigners likewise, of whom there are plenty in the Third Tibet, greatly esteemed him for his qualities and moral virtues. He showed himself extremely fond, too, of foreigners, and the further the countries they came from, the greater was his goodwill for them. Sharp, lofty in his views and quick-witted, when he had heard me propose to him sundry points of religion directly opposed to his beliefs, he was continually discussing with me, (P. 340) and very ably too; and he assured me that, if I could convince him of the falsity of the doctrines he followed, he would become a Christian with the whole of his Court and of his people. He governed the country with rare prudence and was most upright and just in his decisions. Endowed with these and many other natural gifts and virtuous qualities, he maintained himself on the throne till December 1717, when his end was the more

lamentable as the course of his reign had been the more successful. The causes of his woeful end were as I shall now explain.

At the time when Cinghes-khang became master of the kingdom, the Grand Lamà of Tibet was a most dissolute young man, unbridled, and stained with every vice. Moreover, he started doing things contrary to the inviolable customs of the Lamàs and of the Religious; such as taking the greatest care of his hair, drinking spirits to excess, and indulging in gambling; finally, he let himself be carried away by his lust to such a degree that not a beautiful person of either sex escaped the onslaughts of his ungovernable passions. To bring him back to the right path, the advice of the wise king Cinghes-khang proved unavailing; unavailing too his severe reprimands; nor did he succeed better when he threatened to put a violent stop to conduct which contaminated the whole of his Kingdom.

So, when matters had first been arranged with the Emperor of China through repeated mutual embassies, king Cinghes-khang, under cover of specious pretexts, obliged the Grand Lamà to leave Lhasà, and to go towards China in the suite of the Tartars and of his own most faithful servants. On the journey, the Grand Lamà was shown the king's orders, which condemned him to death: Now, before the execution of the sentence, from which there was no escape, he said to some of his friends that, after his death, they should tell his dear Tibetans not to mourn for him, but to wait for his return; he would come back to them, and would accordingly be reborn on the frontiers of China; they should look for him in that direction, and in due time they would find him back. Thus said, he was executed according to the King's order: and the king appointed in his stead a Religious of Tibet somewhat advanced in age, whom he raised to the throne and dignity of Grand Lamà. When the news became known, great was the grief of the Tibetans, and great the indignation which the Religious conceived against the Tartar king. They would have liked to avenge the Grand Lamà's death by deposing and killing the king; but, finding themselves powerless for that, they tried secretly to compass their design in another manner. How, I shall say presently. The Tibetans, (P. 341) and especially the Religious, refused to acknowledge the Grand Lamà, yet, before the peremptory orders of the king and the dreaded authority of the Emperor of China, all submitted externally and acclaimed the new Grand Lamà with outward shows of reverence and obedience. Nevertheless, their reverence was so utterly feigned that almost all, at that very time, plotted secretly to free themselves of the Grand Lamà and of the king himself.

Accordingly, the Tibetans, and in especial the Religious, who were more deeply implicated in the conspiracy than the rest, turned to the king of independent Upper Tartary, asking him to help them in effecting their designs. The said king was a

friend and relative of king Cinghes-khang. He accepted, however, to betray him. Under pretence of new demonstrations of friendship towards the king of Tibet, he sent him ambassadors, asking him to accept the hand of his daughter for his eldest son and thus draw closer the ties of kinship already existing between them; would he, therefore, condescend to send his son to his Court in Upper Tartary? King Cinghes-khang accepted the proposal and sent his eldest son with many of his servants and a large number of soldiers on horseback. After some time the king of Upper Tartary asked of king Cinghes-khang a considerable amount of gold and silver and large numbers of horses and soldiers, alleging disagreements with China and the fear of disturbances in the kingdom of Iarkand, which, a few years before, he had barbarously subjugated. King Cinghes-khang, who by nature was unable to suspect evil, especially in a friend and relative, quickly sent whatever the king of Upper Tartary had requested.

Meanwhile, throughout Tibet the news was that a child, a few years old, and born near Sining, on the frontiers between Lower Tartary and China, had spoken and had said (which happens frequently in Tibet, as I have had occasion to show) that he was the Grand Lamà who had been put to death by king Cinghes-khang, but had been reborn, conformably to the promise he had made to his dear Tibetans; the throne of Lhasà belonged to himself; he was most eager to see again his devoted disciples; his only wish was to try again to procure and further their welfare, and to save them from the vast ocean of toils, as they call the cycle of transmigrations in which they erroneously believe. (P. 342).

It is difficult to imagine what a commotion this piece of news produced on the minds of the Tibetans, especially of the Religious, and though eager they were to see placed again on his throne their Grand Lamà, whose return they had so anxiously expected and longed for. They thought that the king, who belonged to their own sect, would at once make diligent inquiries into the new reincarnation; but they were disappointed. The king of Tibet sent to the place where the said child was some Lamàs and doctors to examine very minutely (such being the custom in Tibet, as I explained more in particular above) whether the said child was the Grand Lamà who had died and been reborn; now, these Lamàs and doctors, having gone and made the necessary examination, returned to Tibet and reported to the king that they had not been able to discover sufficient signs to make them recognize in the said child the person of the former Grand Lamà. Accordingly, the king not only did not allow the said child to come to Tibet, but to obviate disorder he contrived that the Emperor of China should have the said child taken and put into a fortress, where he was surrounded by trusty guards. For many years the Tibetans

made every effort to obtain from the king of China their Grand Lamà; all their attempts proved, however, useless. In the end, impatient of further delays, and becoming bold and resolute, they determined to execute and accomplish without more ado the conspiracy which, long before, with the help of the king of independent Upper Tartary, they had set on foot against king Chinghes-khang and the Grand Lamà, whom they would not accept as lawfully elect.

The chief instigators of the disorders, which were the outcome of what we have related, were different Lamàs and almost all the Religious of the three chief convents and great Universities of Tibet: to wit, the great convent of Breebung, the great convent of Serà at Lhasà, and the great convent of Jegacè, the capital of the province of Ciang. They bribed many grandees of Tibet and some of the King's ministers, and made them promise that, when the time for assisting the enemies would be at hand, they would lend their help for the success of the enterprise. All this and many other things having been secretly arranged in Tibet, they sent a large picked body of Religious, the youngest and most robust, to independent Upper Tartary, where, with the help of that king, who gave them some troops of Tartar soldiers, they enrolled themselves under the command and conduct of Gè-ring-ton-drup, and (P. 343) three other generals. Two of these were monks, who had studied and been solemnly promoted to a doctor's degree at the said great convents and Chief Universities of Breebung and Serà, at the capital of Lhasà.

Gè-ring-ton-drup had also studied at the famous convent and large University of Jegacè, where he had been a Religious. He was a very near relative of the king of independent Upper Tartary; a man of keen intellect, bold, intrepid and warlike, he was accustomed to fatigue, no toils intimidated him; his horse and his arms were everything for him; in fact, we might compare him to a miniature Alexander the Great, whose qualities were revived in his person; and he was destined to show to the world that those who have been schooled in the liberal arts and trained in the career of sciences turn out the bravest and most victorious sons of Mars.

When the said army had enlisted under the banners of such a general and was ready to march upon Tibet, another army was levied at the same time to be sent against China, to prevent the Emperor from succouring Chinghes-khang, his friend and kinsman, and to try moreover to take possession of the child who was said to be the incarnation of the Grand Lamà. If this design succeeded, there would be no further need of a campaign; for, if they got hold of the child and could conduct him triumphantly across Tibet, the whole country would acclaim and welcome him as their longed-for and legitimate Sovereign, and all would turn their backs on king Cinghes-khang. In this

way, the conquest of Tibet would cost less blood to the Tartars and the Tibetans, and the results would prove more lasting.

When these two armies issued from independent Upper Tartary, the false rumour was spread that king Cinghes-khang's eldest son was returning to Tibet with his bride and a large escort. King Cinghes-khang was in the habit of leaving the city of Lhasà at the beginning of June and of going with his Tartars to a pleasure-seat in the north, called Dam, where he would indulge in the pleasures of the chase till about the end of October. In the year 1717, when he received the false news of his son's arrival, he left Lhasà in the middle of June and went to Dam, not for the usual hunt, but to meet the sooner his eldest son, whom he longed to see again. While he was nursing these sweet hopes, lo! suddenly from his hereditary estates in Lower Tartary, there arrived breathless, after a precipitous flight, and accompanied by only a handful of followers, (P. 344) his second son, who, with tears in his eyes, revealed to his father the treachery so perfidiously planned against him by the king of independent Upper Tartary, whose army was to arrive within a few hours at that very place, as indeed happened. Without a minute's delay, the king picked together for battle his Tartars and some Tibetan servants whom he had with him, and bravely prepared with his son to resist the enemy, who in a short while came to attack the king and his small force.

This first battle would speedily have sealed the doom of king Cinghes-khang and put an end to his dynasty, if his second son had not discovered the secret pact between some of his father's servants and the enemy for killing him and triumphing without striking another blow. The said prince, having therefore punished the traitors without delay, conducted the battle in quite another direction and after a quite different manner; so that king Cinghes-khang with the small force under him was victorious in several engagements and gained a very advantageous position, which barred the enemy's march upon Lhasà and made it impossible for them to communicate with the rebels of Tibet. In this manner, the king foiled all the attempts of his open and secret enemies for the space of three months, *i.e.* from the beginning of August till about the end of October. During this time, the king called up from all the provinces, even the remotest, all the troops of the kingdom and collected them in the city of Lhasà. Moreover, through the industry and skill of some ambassadors of the Emperor of China who had come to Lhasà during the previous months, marvellous work was done for fortifying the whole of the great circuit of the said city of Lhasà, up to the Potalà inclusively, with new walls and gates, with manifold forts and ravelins, ditches and palisades and other suitable means of defence, all of which would have made the place impregnable for the host of enemies without, had not

treachery been lurking within that *very* enclosure, within those very fortifications.

As the above-said place of Dam is unprotected towards the north, and greatly exposed to intolerably cold winds during the cold season, which about the end of October had already begun to make its rigour felt, the king and his son and all their people abandoned their position at Dam and retired to the capital city of Lhasà, which, as I have said, had been well fortified and strongly supplied with troops. The enemies did not move or advance; and, notwithstanding the unbearable cold tormenting them at Dam, they remained there still (P. 345) another full month, without making any hostile demonstration. Their intention was to await the arrival of the other army which they had left on the frontiers of China. They hoped that with them would come the said child, the supposed incarnation of the Grand Lamà of Tibet. They were, however, disappointed. The said army was of a sudden completely defeated by the Chinese, and the pretended Lamà of Tibet was left in closer confinement than before and guarded more jealously.

Hearing this news, and foiled in his hope of obtaining indispensable help from the army whose arrival he had awaited, the generalissimo *Gè-ring-ton-drup* was reduced to straits whichever way he turned. To advance to the siege of an excellently fortified city, and fight with only six thousand soldiers a whole kingdom, was too foolhardy to think of; to turn back and return the same way as he had come was tantamount to exposing his life and the lives of his soldiers to the fury and just vengeance of the Chinese. What did he do? He kept the discomfiture of the army he had awaited an impenetrable secret, and he succeeded so well in dissimulating it that he made his soldiers and the Tibetans believe most firmly that the army which had gone against China had not only been victorious, but that it was bringing to Tibet the new Grand Lamà; therefore, they should offer no resistance, but open the gates to one who was going to re-establish on the throne of Lhasà its lawful and much longed-for Lord. Having thus prepared the way, the said general advanced with his troops against the capital of Tibet.

On the 21st of November, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, they appeared in the neighbourhood of Lhasà, advanced even to where they were hardly safe from the artillery (the guns not being very big), and immediately split up in four divisions: the first, under *Gè-ring-ton-drup*, remained on the north side, near the great convent of Serà; the second went to take up its position on the west side, not far from the other chief convent of Breebung; the third went to station itself on the east side, so as to be in communication with the other convent of Kānden; finally, the fourth division placed itself on the south side, on the bank of the Great river, which flows in the neighbourhood of Lhasà. No sooner did these divisions appear than the religious

and the Lamàs went out in a body from the abovesaid convents, welcomed the Tartars with joyful shouts and acclamations, and brought them food, weapons and ammunition; and, what is more, a large number of the young men of all the convents took up arms and, dressed as soldiers, joined (P. 346) the new-comers, thus swelling considerably the too small numbers of the army.

During the night of the 30th of November, after midnight, the enemies fiercely assaulted the walls of Lhasà from every direction. As agreed upon, they were supplied in some places with ladders, and the north and east gates were opened to them. The enemy entered the unhappy city, and after a short, though bloody, resistance, they were masters of the place by day-break. Amid delirious rejoicings, the victorious army carried Gè-ring-ton-drup in triumph to the royal palace, *Trussikhang*, as it is called, but found it despoiled of all its contents: for the king and his family, together with the Viceroy, the generalissimo, and a few other ministers of his court had evacuated it and retired to the great palace of Potalà, the Grand Lamà's residence, which, situated on a spacious, though not very high, eminence of hard rock, forms a very strong fortress.

Hardly had Gè-ring-ton-drup entered the royal palace when, with his permission, all his soldiers, and, more greedy than the rest, the religious of the above-said convents who had joined his army as soldiers, scattered and, with naked swords in their hands, ran to all the houses, to pillage and sack, without sparing anyone, not even those who had secretly intrigued with them. Their greed not being satisfied with what they found in the houses, they went in search of what had been kept and placed in the convents and in the temples. Not even then was their cupidity appeased; they returned several times to all the houses, and, sparing neither age, sex nor rank, they struck some with the point of their swords, beat others all over the body with inhuman cruelty, suspended others, with their hands tied behind their back, from the beams of the soffit (*del soffitto*) and scourged them repeatedly, or again tormented others in other barbarous ways, and all that to make them confess where they had secreted their riches. Two full days and two full nights they continued thus, until they had stolen, unearthed and collected all the most precious things or anything of value which they could find, both in the city of Lhasà and in its vicinity. It was pitiful to see persons, formerly rich and very well-off, and the wealthiest merchants, reduced to a lamentable condition, almost quite naked, and with no other consolation than that all shared the same wretched plight. Among those who suffered most from the stealing of property and ill-treatments were the very reverend Capuchin Fathers, (P. 347), who were robbed of everything they had, as much as about 500 Roman scudi. All that was left to them was some little money which they had buried in the place where they kept their fire-wood. One of

these Fathers was stripped stark naked and cruelly scourged, so much so that for a long time afterwards he suffered most painfully from his wounds. As for me, I had lived for some months at the University of Serà, in order to study more conveniently their chief books and get accustomed to their manner of discussing. At the time when the hostile Tartars came to besiege Lhasà, I was at the said University, and I was advised to return to the said city, as to a place offering less danger and greater safety. I judged it, however, more prudent not to budge from where I was, and so I suffered no personal violence, nor was I robbed of the little money I had on me, or of my bed, or of the things of my chapel. On the other hand, whatever I had at Lhasà, in the Hospice of the Capuchin Fathers, was stolen, only some money excepted, which I had hidden in the above-said place.

On the third day, which was the 3rd of December 1717, the barbarians turned all their efforts and all their fury and greed against the said great palace of Potalà, the magnificent residence of the Grand Lama. With engines and ladders and other contrivances, they scaled the outer ring of walls on the south side; then, having occupied the rock and seeing that all other efforts to penetrate into the palace and the fortress would be useless, they had recourse to fire; and, having forced the chief big gate by means of it, they entered, not to cease the tragedy, but to commence others of a new and more horrible nature. Meanwhile, king Cinghes-khang, the Viceroy and the generalissimo had slipped out by a secret door on the north side, and, mounting good horses kept ready for the purpose, had taken to flight. When the enemies remarked they were gone, they gave chase at once. At a certain place, the fugitives were stopped in their flight by a ditch strengthened by a double palisade; here they were overtaken, and, though they defended themselves bravely, king Cinghes-khang was killed in the affray. When Gè-ring-ton-drup was informed of the fact, he went at once to where the king had been killed and where his corpse still lay; he made a great show of grief, spoke with the highest praise of his virtues and gave him an honourable funeral.

To the second son, the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij and the dead king's generalissimo, whose name was Ten-drup-gè-ring, were reserved greater and longer misfortunes and a further display of great deeds. (P. 348) The three of them, after avenging the king's death by slaying a goodly number of enemies, bravely forced their way through them, and, as not one could equal the speed of their horses, they continued their flight, and disappeared from the sight of their pursuivants. When they had run a long time, they went at dead of night and at the risk of their lives to take refuge in the house of a great Governor of one of the chief provinces of Tibet. This province, which

is in the north-east of Tibet, is called *Tázé*, whence the said Governor was called *Debà-Tázê*.

During their flight, the hostile Tartars, driven by their insatiable greed of plunder, had penetrated forcibly into the great palace of the Potalà. Here they found the Grand Lamà who had been appointed by king *Cinghes-khang*. Of his own accord, he yielded to them his throne, and asked as a favour to be allowed to spend the rest of his life, like a simple private Religious, in his old convent.

They also found in the Potalà the Grand Lamà of *Jegacè*, who is esteemed as the second oracle of Tibet, his authority being enhanced by his enormous wealth and his very advanced age. These qualifications had gained him the greatest esteem and reverence, not only from king *Cinghes-khang* and the whole of Tibet, but also from the Emperor of China and the victorious general *Gè-ring-ton-drup*, whose superior and director he had been formerly, when the said general lived and studied for several years as a Religious at the great convent and University of *Jegacè*. So then, the said Lamà of *Jegacè*, trusting to the authority which his rank and his age gave him, reproved bitterly his bold enemies for their perfidy and treachery, the murder of the king, the death of so many innocent people and the sack of the town; and he added that, as life would be too heavy a burden to him thenceforth, he had no other wish than to share the fate of so many wretched people whom they had slain. These words saved from a murderous sword the widowed queen and her youngest son, a child three or four years old, whom she had near her; but they were despoiled of everything they had and kept prisoners in *Gè-ring-ton-drup*'s power.

When the Tartars had emptied the great palace of Potalà of all its former inmates, they stripped it of all its contents. No one would believe me if I were to detail the extraordinary amount of booty which was taken at this sack; for no one would be able to credit, still less to value, the immensity of the wealth and the rareness of the treasures which were found in the said palace, especially in the thrones, in the apartments of the Grand Lamà and in the temple of the idols, which stands (P. 349) in the chief part of the said palace. Only one who has seen such treasures and examined them again and again can form a sufficiently adequate idea of them.

The second son of king *Cinghes-khang*, the Viceroy and the generalissimo of all the troops of Tibet had, during their flight, taken refuge in the house of the *Debà-Tázê* with the intention of prosecuting their journey towards China; but, whereas they thought they would find at his house a brief respite from their fatigues, they found in it the beginning of new and harder trials. The said *Debà-Tázê* belonged to the most conspicuous family of Tibet; he was closely connected with the native kings of the country, a long line of whom had

governed it before they were dispossessed by king Cinghes-khang for reasons recounted above. Moreover, he was but too eager, old as he was, to recover for himself the royal crown which once had belonged to his family. Besides, he was a hard-hearted and more than feline character, as is shown by the execrable thing he had done many years before. He had an only son, a young man of high intellect, affable manners and endowed with such good parts that king Cinghes-khang, who loved him with a father's affection, kept him at his court, loaded him with favours and raised him for his rare talents to the most important charges. All this, however, was not to his father's liking, though he ought, it seems, to have rejoiced at it, rather; jealousy and the hatred he felt towards the sovereign suggested to him the fell design of poisoning his own son. So then, prompted partly by his hatred for the deceased king Cinghes-khang, partly by his inhuman nature and unbridled ambition, he sent ambassadors to Gè-ring-ton-drup at Lhasà to let him know that the fugitive sovereign¹ and his son² were in his power, helpless. Gè-ring-ton-drup despatched from Lhasà a big body of armed Tartars, who, on arriving at the place indicated, loaded with fetters victims already under arrest and brought them to the conqueror's feet. His orders were to keep the prince and the Viceroy apart in separate prisons; after which, he had the conquered general Ton-drup-ge-ring³ placed before him, and, finding him insensible to threats, he tried to mollify him by kindness and promises; but all his artifices were unavailing, so strong was the man's courage, so firm his loyalty to his sovereign.

When the Viceroy *Targum-tree-scij* had been confined to a rigorous imprisonment, the barbarous usurpers of Tibet, knowing that all the King's and the Grand Lamà's treasures, much of which they had been unable to discover, had always been in his keeping, tried (P. 350) for a long time with inhuman cruelty to make him confess where these treasures were kept hidden. I was dying to help somewhat the said Viceroy, who from the first days of my arrival at Lhasà had been my affectionate friend and had shown himself quite openly ready to further the success of my mission but, much as I tried, I could give him no other help than procuring him a bed of mine, and supply a faithful servant of his with some money, so that he might every day give him *Cia*⁴ to drink. The Tartars, balked by the firmness of that very loyal Viceroy, and seeing that they could obtain nothing from him, resolved to send to the king of Upper Tartary the said Viceroy with the queen, the young prince, and king Cinghes-khang's second son, in order that, on their arrival there, they might meet with a cruel death.

¹ *Sic*, for Viceroy.

³ *Sic*.

² *Read*: and the sovereign's son.

⁴ Tea.

The victorious Tartars, suspecting opposition to the execution of their iniquitous enterprise, conducted with them as secretly as possible, and under strong surveillance, the said four persons. They had already entered the desert which, from the north-west, by the upper road of China, leads to Upper Tartary, when the news of their movements reached the ears of Têndrup-çe-ring, who had finally been set free. Without losing a moment, he set out all alone and succeeded in overtaking the prisoners. He attacked resolutely the guards conducting them, and at the first blow managed to save from their hands the Viceroy, who fled and recovered his liberty. Meanwhile, he received the sad tidings that Gè-ring-ton-drup, hearing of his sudden departure from Lhasà, had avenged himself by barbarously killing his wife. The news of this cruel deed only added to his anger and his boldness. Rushing again among the enemies, who still held the king's widow and her two sons, he tried to set them free; but, overpowered by numbers, he fell himself into the hands of the Tartar soldiers, and was massacred.

When the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij had, as we said above, recovered his liberty by flight, he started making plans of revenge. Leaving the desert which on the east side, and across China, leads to Upper Tartary, he took the north road, and coming down, alone and incognito, to the province of Çang, he crossed the other provinces until he arrived at the other, great desert which, stretching from the west as far as Cartoa,¹ leads from there to Yarkand, whence it goes directly to independent Upper Tartary. Having crossed the whole of this desert and arrived at Cartoa, he started collecting at once (P. 351) and encouraging some scattered military outposts which king Cinghes-khang had formerly sent there to defend those furthestmost parts of Tibet against the invasions which his treacherous enemies might have attempted on that side. Having brought together a small body of troops, he inspired his soldiers with eagerness to avenge in the blood of their enemies their king and his family, and proceeded to block the Cartoa pass, so that the barbarian usurpers might not receive any help from their own country or have any intercourse with it.

His plan did not prove unsuccessful. As the Chinese had occupied the eastern route, and he did not yet know the snares which were being laid for him in the north, the king of independent Upper Tartary,² or of the Giongars (as the Tartars of that Tartary are called in that language) sent repeatedly his envoys by way of Cartoa in order to obtain from that side reinforcements and thus strengthen his army in Tibet, which was now getting weaker and weaker. But not one of

¹ Gartok.

² He means Cé-ring-ton-drup.

those who were sent from Lhasà to the country of the Giongars or were sent from there to Tibet, managed to escape with his life when arriving at Cartoa, the place where the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij and his small band lay in ambush. Seeing that, after much waiting, none of the envoys whom he had sent to Upper Tartary returned and that none of the auxiliary troops promised appeared from there, Gè-ring-ton-drup, the general of the Giongars, did not know whether this was the result of obstacles met on the way, or because the king of the Giongars was unable to help and continue the enterprise. He then took it into his head to send to him all the booty, and to re-awaken in him by the sight of such wealth his desire to assist him with a strong force and complete the conquest of Tibet. Accordingly, he sent by the western route, that of the great desert, which emerges at Gnari and Cartoa, a large well-armed body of his Giongars, and entrusted to them the whole of his treasures, whatever he had amassed not only from the sack of Lhasà, but from a great part of Tibet.

After a long journey of four months, the said Giongar force was now approaching the frontiers of their country and anticipating the pleasure of a triumphal entry, when, on arriving at Cartoa, Targum-tree-scij sent to meet them some of the Tibetans whom he had collected and won over to his cause. They went out, unarmed; and, far from assuming a menacing attitude, they manifested joy, and behaved like friends who, on hearing of the arrival of the Giongars, wished to make them forget the discomforts of a toilsome journey. In this way they induced the Giongars (P. 352) to rest there a few days, in field-tents, which they had prepared for them. They stopped, therefore; and they were quite willing, all of them, to stimulate the newly begun rejoicings by potations of *Ciang* and *Aracca*, copious quantities of which had been prepared for them. It is the custom, both among the Tartars and the Tibetans, not to stop drinking such like liquids, even when importuned by them, until all the pots placed before them have been emptied. The Giongars had already drunk very deep, when the Tibetans, acting on Targum-tree-scij's instructions, made the chief officers of that large force understand that it was not the custom for people indulging in drink to keep their arms about their person: for, when people get drunk, they are apt to start quarrelling, to come to blows, and, having their arms about them, they may turn a joyful convivial meeting into a scene of fighting and bloodshed. The Giongars, already under the spell of excessive libations, their minds obnubilated, did not reflect on the danger of such a proposal; and, when their arms had been taken and safely stowed away, they resumed with renewed zest the task of emptying the cups, with the result that many dropped down, overcome by sleep, while the rest were unfit for any rational action. Then the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij (*sic*)

ordered his small force to kill everyone of the Giongars with their own weapons, and not to let even one escape and carry home the sad tidings. This was done; the immense treasures, which these barbarian robbers had brought so far, were taken, and the Viceroy kept them intact at Cartoa itself so that, when the Chinese came, as he hoped, to take possession of Tibet, he might carry them back to Lhasà and surrender them to the Chinese, by way of thanking them for having avenged the death of king Cinghes-khang and of his family. By this one blow, Targum-tree-scij all alone reduced the Giongars to such straits that not only did they despair of obtaining from their country any succour of fresh forces, but with their reduced numbers they were unable to maintain their hold on Tibet and were forced to see the entire country pass into the hands of the Chinese, as we shall now explain.

The Emperor of China was doubly irritated against the Giongars: not only had they, without any declaration of war, sent an army to occupy his states on the side of Sining, but they had treacherously deprived of his kingdom and of his life king Cinghes-khang, his friend and kinsman. Anxious to remedy all this without bloodshed, he sent with due precautions (P. 353) his ambassadors to the generalissimo of the Giongars, the usurper of Tibet, Gè-ring-ton-drup, to persuade him to desist from his enterprise and represent to him the dangers which obstinacy would expose him to. Gè-ring-ton-drup, emboldened by his victories, replied to the ambassador of the Chinese sovereign that by the sword he had taken possession of Tibet and by the sword meant to maintain his power over it.

To repress the pride of the Giongars, and avenge the death of king Cinghes-khang and the wrongs done to himself, the Emperor of China sent to Tibet in 1719, from his states of Sining and other provinces in their neighbourhood, a large army composed exclusively of Chinese, partly pagans and partly Maomettans, none of the Tartars, who compose the mainstay of his army, being sent along with them. There are two routes from China to Lhasà: the shorter one, which generally takes three months, goes west from Sining, crosses a long and troublesome desert, and emerges north of Lhasà; the other required more than three months; it strikes southwards from Sining and goes to the province of Tazentu, in the kingdom of Kham, which forms part of the kingdom of Tibet; then, turning to the west, it runs through other parts of Kham and other provinces of Tibet till it reaches Lhasà; this second road, although much longer, is very convenient, for it passes all the time through inhabited places. However, the officers and commandants of the above-said army, who were mostly Maomettans, fearing to meet with serious obstacles along this second road, took the former one and came marching across the said desert. Owing to their numbers, the length of the journey,

and their slow progress, the army, on arriving at Dam, a place not far from and north of Lhasà, but thinly populated, suffered seriously from want of food. At first, they could revictual themselves at once; but not so afterwards. As soon as they reached the said place, they occupied an advantageous position and constructed a stone entrenchment to defend themselves from attacks on the part of the enemy. On hearing of the arrival of the Chinese army, the Giongars marched at once against Dam, whither they called up all the forces of Tibet. After many engagements, always indecisive, the Chinese were compelled to fall back on their entrenchments; but, as soon as they had retired to them, they were surrounded on all sides by the forces of the Giongars and Tibetans; (P. 354) every pass was blocked against them, so that they could not receive or procure even the smallest succour in the way of provisions. They were reduced to such want that, after eating their own animals, they started eating the flesh of the comrades who were continually dying of hunger. In their extremity, they asked some Lamàs to intercede for them and obtain from the Giongars the permission of leaving their entrenchments and returning home, without any further warlike action on their part. The Giongars consented, on condition that the Chinese would come out quite unarmed. The Chinese accepted the condition; but, the moment they left their enclosure, the perfidious Giongars attacked them, unable as they were to offer any resistance, and killed them to a man.

The Emperor of China now levied from many provinces and from his own court of Peking a countless army, composed no longer of Chinese only, but also in great part of his Tartars. Moreover, several petty kings of Lower Tartary, his vassals and feudatories, also joined the said army with all the forces of their States. Only one who has had experience of the immense wealth of the Emperor of China and has witnessed it at least partly, can form an idea of the great provisions of all sorts, arms, munitions, implements, engines and animals with which he abundantly supplied that numberless host. To say nothing of the rest, I say only that all the officers and every one of the soldiers were given liberally and beforehand full five years' pay.

I do not know whether Your Reverence¹ will believe me, but I protest that I do not exaggerate in the least, and that I tell only what I have seen with my own eyes. No sooner had the Chinese come to Tibet the second time, than the whole of that kingdom, vast as it is, was in a very short time so abundantly supplied with silver that the metal became most common among the people, insomuch that it was necessary to forbid its being accepted for buying and selling. The said silver (as

¹ The General of the Society of Jesus ?

is the custom in China) was not minted money, but pure, unalloyed silver and in pieces of three sorts, big, middling and small. At much risk and expense, the Tibetans sent this silver from Lhasà to Nepal, a journey of three months to and fro, to have it exchanged against the minted money, of the three petty chiefs ruling over the entire kingdom of Nepal. These, without taking any interest or discount, exchanged their usual money against an equal weight of the said silver, and (P. 355) each one of them, especially the petty king of Kadmandù, made a profit of several millions by the exchange.

The wise Emperor's chief aim in sending that army was not to repress violently the boldness of the Giongars, but to alienate from them and conciliate to himself the minds of the Tibetans. To effect his design, he could not find a better means or one more efficacious with those people than policy, even though he did not relish choosing this means. As I have said above, some had already spread throughout Tibet the news that their venerated Grand Lamà, whom king Cingheskhang had caused to be put to death, had been reborn at a place not very far from Sining, in the dominions of China. For a long time these credulous and superstitious people were longing for the return of their Grand Lamà, who hitherto had been well guarded in a safe fortress by the guards of the Emperor of China. Entreaties, artifices, violence, conspiracies on the part of the Tibetans, all had been useless towards recovering and replacing on the throne their reborn Lamà. What then did the Emperor of China? He drew forth from that fortress the supposed reincarnation of the Lamà, and sent him to Tibet with the second army. At the same time he addressed edicts to all the Lamàs and Religious, to all the Governors of Tibet and their subjects, announcing to them the arrival of the longed-for body; if they had the heart to take up arms and fight him, they could join the ranks of the deceitful Giongars; but, if in the young man he sent them they acknowledged and revered their Grand Lamà, they should, at the approach of the troops now on their way to restore him to his throne, obey the orders which the ministers and officers of the Emperor of China would give them.

This second Chinese army did not, like the first, come by way of the said eastern desert; it took the other road of which I have spoken above. It came in good order and slowly; and everywhere people bowed and submitted to the orders of the Emperor of China. In virtue of these orders, suddenly and almost at the same time the whole of Tibet flew to arms; and, from the boys of twelve years upward, there was not a man, old or infirm though he was, who was not obliged to serve as a soldier. During those months I was in the province of Takpokier, at a place called Trong-gnee, and for greater safety's sake I had retired to the palace of the governor of the said province,

who was a religious: he too was obliged to start for the army, leaving a substitute. In the evening of the 28th of September, (P. 356) 1720, a little after sundown, I received from a general of the militia of those provinces the order to present myself the next day at his camp, with arms, a horse, a pack-mule and two persons in my service, armed likewise, and on foot; in case I transgressed his orders, the penalty was death. My quality and authority of Lamà was of no avail; for all the different Lamàs of Tibet received similar orders and were threatened with the like penalty. Your Reverence can well imagine how I was taken aback by so peremptory an order. Seeing my consternation, the good Vice-Governor, an old man of great authority, and somewhat related to the said general, consoled me and let me hope that, thanks to his interposition, he would be able to save me from my troublesome predicament. In fact, he set out, and, arriving the next morning at the said general's tent, he pleaded so well in my favour that they sent me with all speed counter-orders, excuses and compliments.

Though, on that occasion, all the Tibetans were armed, all were not called upon to join the Chinese army; only some were called up, but the others were told off to different places to block all the passes in every direction, not only at the extremities of the kingdom, but at the frontiers of each separate province. Thus every outlet was cut off against the Giongars and every means of escape taken from them.

Instead of losing heart, the Giongars, roused and maddened more than ever by their innate boldness, ran to meet the army of their enemies, and, while these thought themselves secure, in the silence and darkness of the night, they fell upon them unexpectedly and butchered many thousands of poor Chinese. The blood of their enemies roused the Giongars to still greater frenzy; the next night, they returned to the attack with such resolution and dash that they doubled the slaughter. The third night, they attacked again, and this time they turned their efforts to the side where was the Grand Lamà. All around him stood the chief captains and such vast number of Tartars that by themselves they constituted a formidable host. Eager to penetrate up to the Grand Lamà, the Giongars, made such a nimble and violent onrush and started again such a massacre among their enemies that, their weapons blunted and rendered useless by the long and continued striking and killing, they judged that the fight wearied them more than it harmed and dismayed the Chinese. (P. 357)

Such is precisely the object of the Chinese when they form their enormous armies, composed for the greater part of persons who by their age and weakness seem to be a hindrance rather than a help. China being exceedingly populous and prolific, it matters little to her if in a few battles she loses many thousands of men; nay, she manages to derive considerable profit from the

loss itself. In a word, their object in letting the enemy revel in such a slaughter is that in the end they may be utterly tired out and be already in great part defeated by sheer weakness. Then they bring out the most considerable and most stalwart portion of their army, attack their worn-out enemies and have no difficulty in gaining the hoped-for victory.

It is exactly what happened this time, too. On the fourth day, the Chinese did not wait for the Giongars to attack them; they forestalled them. When it grew dark, lights and fires were lit in all the tents and pavilions of the Chinese camp, to let the enemy know that they were watching, and to make them distinguish the said pavilions, whose occupants, besides, had been almost entirely wiped out. Meanwhile, the Tibetans of China and of Lower Tartary, under cover of the darkness, divided into three big divisions. The first remained where it was, to guard and defend the Grand Lamà; the second took up its position in front of the camp, facing the enemy; but this time the Chinese were sent to the rear of the camp and distributed among the tents and pavilions; the third division, issued from the camp in great silence, and after a long detour, stationed itself at the back of the enemies. Then, at a given signal, they suddenly assailed the Giongars, who now plainly saw the difference between those whom they had fought the previous nights and those whom they were fated to contend against this time. The fight raged most fiercely. In the end, reduced to a handful, the Giongars, the arrogant usurpers of Tibet, and their general-in-chief, Gè-ring-ton-drup, were shamefully routed, and the paltry remnant of their forces made for the western desert. Gè-ring-ton-drup did not venture, however, to push on towards Cartoa, where he knew that the redoubted Targum-tree scij yet was; he struck northwards, a prey to despair, utter spite and no less shame, and tried to cross the impassable barrier of mountains which on that side are the abode of everlasting horror. The rumour is that, among those wastes, than which none more horrible are to be found on earth, he whose inhuman cruelty had filled such vast kingdom with terror and carnage ended his career. (P. 358)

After awful catastrophes which had lasted nearly twenty years, the victory of October 1720 secured to the Emperor of China the absolute dominion over the whole of this third Tibet or Bhutan. It is at present governed by him, and it is thought that it will remain subject, for many centuries and without opposition, to his mighty power.

I shall not speak of the great festivities celebrated everywhere, and especially at Lhasà, in honour of the Chinese who had re-instated on the throne of the Potalà the much longed-for Lamà. I shall not enlarge on the great moderation shown by their victorious army. For brevity's sake, I omit these and many other things which would well be worth recording.

I shall say only what helps to show that the intention which the most wise Emperor of China, pursued in that enterprise of the conquest of Tibet was merely to vindicate the death of king Cinghes-khang and of his cruelly betrayed family.

I said above that the city of Lhasà was taken by the Giongars, not by force of arms, but by the secret machinations of some, partly seculars and partly Lamàs, traitors to king Cinghes-khang, who opened the gates of the city and helped with ladders the said Giongars. I said also that the Debâ Tâzê, with horrible treachery, had surrendered to the power of the Giongars his fugitive guests namely the king's second son, the Viceroy Tar-gum-tree-scij, and general Ton-drup-ge-ring. After the final victory of the Chinese, the traitors were cast into different prisons, and by decree of the Emperor were condemned to die a shameful death in public. Many influential persons, the Grand Lamà included, made every endeavour to obtain the pardon of the culprits; but to no purpose. They were dragged out of their prisons and led, bare-footed, bare-headed and manacled, to the place of execution. In front and behind marched long lines of Chinese and of Tartars from China, and in the centre came, filthy, and covered with shame, the execrated traitors. In this way were they conducted first round the magnificent idol-temple, called in that language Lha-brang, or the Palace of the Lhas; next, throughout the public streets of the city; finally, to the place reserved for the execution of the death-sentence. The Lamàs were beheaded by the executioner; the Debâ-Tâzê and the rest were shamefully tortured and pierced with arrows, until they expired miserably (ff. 63v-80v).

II.

(P. 359). It is good to know that, although the barbarous and ambitious king of independent Upper Tartary had no other intention than to extend his dominions and treacherously to take possession of the kingdom of Tibet and the immense treasures which he knew it contained, yet he did not conceive or plan the enterprise, but was pushed to it, dragged into it, by the urgent solicitations of others.

For a long time the religious, called Ubàs (*Uba*), those of the yellow cap, had nursed in their heart hatred against the religious dedicated to the worship of Urghien; but, fierce and uncontrollable as was their long-standing rancour, the flame of it smouldered silently. It burst forth when king Cinghes-khang, justly condemning to death the Grand Lamà, the special chief of the Ubàs and their great protector, freed Tibet of the pestilential contagion with which the said Grand Lamà's unbridled lust and pernicious dissoluteness infected the Kingdom. Then the Ubàs, seeing on the one hand that they were without a chief and had no hope of soon getting one, on the other that

their antagonists were not only unscathed but under a chief, and increased daily in power, wealth and repute, could no longer repress within their hearts the flame of jealousy and hatred. It blazed forth so violently that nothing now would extinguish it. At first, they tried to give vent to their wrath in private meetings; in conversations with private persons, at the court of Tibet itself, nay at the court of China too; then, bands after bands of them went to Upper Tartary, and there with shouts and cries they lamented their lot and asked for help and succour from those people. Turning to the King, they spoke to him thus: 'Since religion groans under violence and oppression, it is just, Sire, that you should protect and vindicate it. What war so just as that which aims at repressing the tyranny of a sacrilegious king and at protecting holiness, the most revered and venerable, yet impiously ill-used? What enterprise more glorious than that can prince like you wish for? The victory is sure; and the advantages to accrue from it are immense.' 'And,' added they, 'if our words do not move you, the Grand Lamà himself, now a prisoner in an impregnable strong hold, joins his prayers to ours, and your reward will be the best that can be coveted, the gratitude of him who sees prostrate at his feet, not only entire peoples, but princes and kings. As long as a reward so unexampled, so worthy of envy lies within your reach, of what use is it (P. 360) to remind your magnanimous self of the rich spoils, the immense hoards of gold and silver which the conquest of Tibet will secure to you? A few of your troops suffice; we ourselves, religious though we are, shall take up arms, everyone of us, to fight for the cause which we came from so far to plead before you.'

The Tartar king let himself be persuaded by such honeyed words and such rosy prospects. Now, the moment the Ubàs felt themselves patronised by that sovereign and supported by his troops, they grew bold and chose as their commander one Gè-ring-ton-drup, who had formerly been a Religious among the Ubàs; as their second commander they chose another, who yet retained the name and habit of a Religious. Under such chiefs they advanced impetuously against Tibet, killing, massacring, destroying and robbing. In the houses, they broke into a thousand pieces the statues of Urghien, threw into the flames the books dedicated to him and forbade his cult under pain of confiscation. After the houses they attacked the temples, destroying all those where Urghien was worshipped and plundering their contents. In those temples they quartered their troops and stabled their horses; others they demolished or burned down. The same fate overtook the convents and places of pilgrimage consecrated to Urghien, large numbers of their inmates, monks and nuns, being tortured and slain. All over Tibet, finally, there were massacres of every sort, from which neither age nor sex nor condition offered any protection. (ff. 187r-192r).

III.

(P. 313). The religious in Tibet are of the two kinds: those of the first class are the religious of the yellow cap, whose chief is the Grand Lamà of the Potalà. The others, of the second class, are the religious of the red cap, who, though acknowledging for supreme chief of their sect and religion the Grand Lamà of the Potalà, have nevertheless for the immediate and special chief of their class that Grand Lamà of whom I said above that he has his residence on that great mountain in the province of Takpo.

The religious of the yellow cap are devoted exclusively to Sciakkia Thubbà, inasmuch as they recognize him as the founder of their class. Though the religious of the red cap venerate Sciakkia Thubbà as their universal lawgiver, they are specially addicted to Urghien as to the founder of their class, and they make profession to be specially devoted to his cult, veneration and imitation, having some special rites, which they have not in common with other religious. These religious of the red cap are less numerous than the others, but universally in Tibet they are more esteemed and revered, because they observe greater retirement, and also because, at least exteriorly, they are more edifying. Incredible and inexplicable is the implacable jealousy and hatred which the religious of the first class have for those of the second. (*f. 117v*).

The enmity between the two sects is not confined to an internal rancour; it also bursts forth at times into violent (P. 314) persecutions, which bring not only ruin and almost extermination on the rival religious, but ruin and extermination on the whole wretched kingdom of Tibet, as I myself witnessed.

One should know that during the time I was in Tibet, the cruel usurper of that country, Gè-ring-ton-drup, was a religious of the yellow cap, who had made his studies in the great convent and university of Giegazze. Two other Captains, chief commandants of his army, were also religious of the yellow cap, and a great part of the soldiers composing it were also of that kind. Hardly had this army appeared in the neighbourhood of Lhasa, when presently all the religious of Serà, Breebung, and of other convents of that sect ran in arms. No sooner had they made themselves masters of Lhasa and of Tibet, than it was shown that their intention was not to replace the Grand Lamà on the throne of the Potalà, but to give vent to the rage they felt against their rivals, that is, of the red cap. Before, while they marched on Lhasa, they gave to understand that they brought with them from China the pretended and longed-for Grand Lamà, to place him in the post befitting him; that was false; for, not only did they not think of reconducting the Grand Lamà from China to Tibet, but, when the Chinese themselves came to bring him back, they were strongly opposed, preventing him from setting

foot again on the soil of Tibet. From the first day when they took possession of Tibet to their last defeat, that is, from the first of December 1717 up to about the end of the month of October 1720, they hardly did anything else than with pitiless butcherings give vent to their fury against the religious of the other rival sect, and against whatever might have any connection with them. They sacked and destroyed convents; the richest and most esteemed Lamàs were either killed miserably, or forced to save their lives by flight; fugitive and despoiled of everything, they sought refuge in dark, impenetrable caverns. Not without compassion, and not without tears, did I succour in his flight the Lama of *Lungar*,¹ wretched fugitive, who with difficulty had escaped from the hands of the barbarous persecutors. He was (P. 315) a very fat man, very affable and courteous, of excellent nature, lord of a great fief, abounding in wealth, powerful by his kinship with great and very conspicuous families, and universally much loved and respected. He had a very great friendship with me; and on the occasion that I was during the space of two years in the province of Takpò, he invited me frequently to spend two or three days in his company; and, as he was very liberal, he had many and many times offered me ample gifts, chiefly of gold in quantity, which I always refused to accept.

In their mad fury they broke the statues of Urgan, burnt his images and books, as many as with minute search they could find. They forbade under pain of death to retain and keep any of his statues, books and images, and strictly forbade to all the Tibetans to recite any prayer to the said Urgan and to invoke him in any manner. It is true, however, that afterwards the Chinese replaced everything as it was in the time of king Cinghes-khang, and before the arrival in Tibet of its fatal usurpers, the barbarian Giongars. (*fols. 117y-118r*).²

20. Desideri's dates in Puini and in our letters. (P.= Puini; W.=Wessels.)

1684. Dec. 21. Birth of D. at Pistoia (W. 207).

1700. April 27. Enters Society of Jesus (W. 207).

¹ 'The palace and convent of Lungar, the head of which is one of those Lamàs who are allowed to take a wife in order to obtain an heir, is situated on a strong cliff, which on three sides is entirely surrounded by water, and on the other side is joined by a fine and magnificent ascent to the land, and finally ends on the public road.' On this side, on the said ascent is the sumptuous entrance to the palace and the convent. On another side, there is (P. 315) a secret door, hidden and known to a very few only, which by a rapid descent goes to join the foot of the cliff and the bank of the water.' (Note by Desideri.) Puini, 314-315.—Lungar is also mentioned in passing in Puini, 299.

² Puini, 313-315.

1707. Arrival of the Capuchins at Lhasa (1707), as in Wessels (p. 223), quoting Georgi, and protesting against 1708. The exact date is June 12, 1707, not June 19.
1711. Departure of the Capuchins from Lhasa (Letter 15).
1712. Aug. 28. Ordained Priest (W. 207).
 Sept. 27. Leaves Rome for Lisbon, via Florence, Pistoia, Livorno (P. 5).
 Oct. 22. Embarks at Livorno (P. 5).
 Oct. 31. Arrives at Genoa (P. 5).
 Nov. 23. Embarks at Genoa (P. 5).
1713. Middle of March. Arrives at Lisbon (P. 5).
 April 7. Embarks at Lisbon (P. 5); April 6 (W. 207).
 July 25. Arrives at Mozambique (P. 5).
 Aug. 17. Leaves Mozambique (P. 5).
 Aug. 27. Arrives at Goa (P. 5).
 Nov. 12. Letter to the General. (Letter No. 1.)
 Nov. 15. Do. (Letter No. 2.)
 Nov. 17. Embarks at Goa (P. 5); Nov. 21 (P. 361).
 Dec. 7. Disembarks at Bassein (P. 6).
 Dec. 21. Arrives from Bassein on foot at Daman; falls ill the same day (P. 6).
 Dec. 30. Letter to the General, Surat (!). Letter No. 4.
1714. Jan. 1. Leaves Daman (P. 6).
 Jan. 4. Arrives at Surat (P. 6. 361).
 March 25. Leaves Surat for Delhi (P. 6); 26 March (P. 361).
 May 11. Arrives at Delhi (P. 6. 361), 10 days later goes to Agra, a 7 days' journey.
 Aug. 15(?) Receives at Agra from the Visitor, Fr. Joseph da Sylva, letters-patent for Tibet (Letter 5).
 Aug. 17. Receives from Fr. Man. Freyre, a letter from Delhi (Letter 5).
 Aug. 21. Writes Letter 5 from Agra to Fr. Piccolomini.
 End of Aug. Leaves for Delhi (P. 6).
 Sept. 23. Leaves Delhi for Lahore (P. 6. 361); Sept. 24 (W. 211. 273).
 Oct. 9. Arr. at Lahore (P. 6); Oct. 10 (P. 361).
 Oct. 19. Leaves Lahore (P. 6. 361).
 Oct. 28. Leaves the town of Little Gujrat (P. 6).
 Nov. 13. Arr. at Srinagar, Kashmir (P. 6); Nov. 12 (P. 362); Nov. 13 (W. 273).
 About Christ- Falls ill (P. 362).
 mas. The Procurator General of the Capuchins or the Pope writes a letter to an infidel King in 1714 (Letter 15).

1715. February. Almost dying (P. 362).
 May 17. Leaves Srinagar (P. 6. 26. 362; W. 273).
 May 29. Fall of snow (P. 363); up to the evening they were within Kashmir territory (P. 26).
 May 30. Enters Baltistan, after crossing Mt. Kantel (P. 6. 25. 363); in the morning begins the ascent of Mt. Kantel; in the evening is at the foot on the other side, in Baltistan (P. 28). Cf. Letter 15.
 May 31. Fall of snow (P. 363).
 June 26. Arrives at Leh (P. 6. 11. 25. 29); June 25 (P. 364); June 26 (Letter 15; W. 273).
 June 28. Interview with the Lampo or Prime Minister (Letter 8).
 June 29. Invited to visit the King (P. 367).
 July 2. 1st Interview with the King (Letter 8).
 July 4. 2nd Interview with the King (P. 367, and Letter 8).
 July 5. 4th meal 'sent' by the King (P. 367).
 July 6. Interview with the Chief Lama (P. 367, and Letter 8).
 July 8. 3rd Interview with the King (P. 367, and Letter 8).
 July 9. 2nd Interview with the Lampo (P. 367).
 Aug. 5. Letter to the General from Leh, *i.e.* Letter 7 (P. 370).
 Aug. 27. Leaves Leh (P. 11); Aug. 17 (P. 25. 32; W. 273).
 Sept. 7. Proceeds towards the populations of this Kingdom (Ladakh) (P. 11).
 Sept. 17. Arrival at Trescij-khang (Tashigong) (P. 25), till the evening of Sept. 7, when they arrived at Trescij-khang, travelled in Ladakh territory (P. 32. 33. 373); entered third Tibet on Sept. 7 (Letter 15).
 Oct. 9. Leaves Trescij-khang, last town of Ladakh (P. 11. 43); meets Tartar Princess (W. 216).
 Oct. 11. Meets Tartar Princess and travels in her company (P. 12); 9 Oct. (P. 12 n. 1). Arrives at Cartoa (P. 43); arrival at Gartok, Oct. 11 (W. 216).
 After the middle of October. Leaves Cartoa, *i.e.* Gartok (P. 44).
 Nov. 9. Arrives at the highest mountain of the Ngnari Giongar (Mt. Kailash) (P. 44).
 Nov. 10. Arrives at the highest mountain of Ngari (about). (P. 12).

- Dec. 1. At a level place, freer from snow, called Toscia (P. 44).
1716. Jan. 4. Arrives at the first populations of the third Tibet (P. 12). Arrives at Serchia (P. 47).
- Jan. 28. Leaves Serchia (P. 12. 47), goes via Serchia and Gjegazze (P. 47).
- March 18. Arrives at Lhasa (P. 13. 50. 373; Letter 15; W. 273).
- Some days later. Interview with Ten-drup-çê-ring, the King's generalissimo (P. 62. 63).
- April 10. Writes to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi; Letter No. 8.
- April 28. Interview with one of the King's familiars (P. 63).
- April 29. Interview with the King (Letter 15).
- May 1. Do. (*ibid.*); is authorized to buy a house (W. 224).
- July (end of). Writes to the General via Goa and Portugal of his journey up to Lhasa (P. 370) and to the unknown correspondent to whom he wrote the letter of Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717, published by Zaccuria (cf. our No. 26).
- Aug. 9. Interview with the Generalissimo (P. 371); Aug. 10 (Letter 15). The interview lasted 23 hours (P. 371).
- June-Aug. Writes in Italian two little books of religion (P. 372; Letter 15).
- Sept. 8. Begins translating into Tibetan verse his booklet on the one way of salvation (P. 372).
- Oct. 1. Arrival of three Capuchins at Lhasa; Desideri gives them hospitality in his room (P. 372); his lodgings were near the great square, almost on the famous Khora road, on the south side (P. 180).
- Oct. 4. The Capuchins say Mass in Desideri's room; feast of St. Francis of Assisi (P. 372-373).
- Oct. (about middle of). The Capuchins take rooms near Desideri's, in the same house (P. 372).
- Nov. (end). Finishes the Tibetan translation of his first booklet (P. 374).
- Dec. Revises the translation of his first booklet and has it copied neatly (P. 64. 374).
- Dec. 4. Goes to the King's Palace with the 3 Capuchins, and presents the Pope's letter which he had translated into Tibetan (P. 375). Studied in 1716 the Prophecies of Urghien (Lungten: Lung.bstan.pa) and the Life of

Urglien (P. 247). The 1st prophecy, that the Tartars of Lower Tartary would take Tibet was fulfilled before Desideri's arrival, in that Cinghes-Khang had taken it; the 2nd, that those of the other Tartary would invade Tibet, came true in 1717; the 3rd, that these latter would despoil Tibet and send its treasures to their country, was fulfilled in 1717 and 1718; the 4th, that they would kill Lamas and destroy temples and convents, was verified in 1718-21; the 5th, that Cinghes-Khang, pointed out by name, would be killed and his family destroyed, came true in 1717 and 1719; the 6th, that the Chinese would take Tibet, happened in 1719 and 1721 (P. 248).

1717. Jan. 6. Goes to audience at the Royal Palace with the 3 Capuchins, and presents his book (P. 374).
- Febr. 13. Writes a letter to the Pope (cf. our section 28); also the letter to an unknown correspondent which Zaccuria published (cf. our section No. 27).
- Febr. 15. Writes to the General from Lhasa (P. 276); says that he has been somewhat unwell for nearly a month; in March, he hopes to resume his Tibetan studies and to work at a Catechism, a Grammar and a Dictionary, and to translate his second booklet (P. 276). Has written 11 letters to the Provincial of Goa and the Rector of Agra since April 1716 (P. 376); sends a letter to the Pope.
- Febr. Writes a letter to the Pope, to the General, Cardinal Tolomei, and Count (?) Fedri (?). Cf. Letter 15.
- March 25- Lives at the Monastery of Ramo-ccc (W. end of 224; P. 64).
July.
- May (be- Three chief Chinese ambassadors arrived at beginning). Lhasa, with a Vakil and other officials. Their servants applied for medicines to Fr. Domenico of Fano, a physician, at Lhasa. They were treated till the end of May, and knew the Fathers for Europeans (P. 379).
- June (be- Desideri and Fr. Orazio della Penna who beginning). were studying Tibetan in a convent meet one of the Chinese ambassadors, to whom they say they are Europeans (P. 379).

Two days later, Desideri visits the first and the second Ambassadors. The next day Desideri and the two Capuchins, Domenico and Orazio, go to the two Ambassadors; their names and professions and abilities are written down; the same is done for a Capuchin at Takpo, and two others on their way to Lhasa; the three were: Fr. John Francis (of Fossombrone), physician (Takpo?), Fr. Angelico (of Brescia), physician, Fr. Bonaventure (of Pedona), student of the Tibetan books. The Chinese wanted the Fathers to go to Peking; all refused, and king Cinghes-Khang decided to leave them in peace.

- July 1. Date on Desideri's Tibetan MS. of pp. 54 (W. 274).
- Aug. Moves to the University of Sera (W. 224; P. 64).
- Nov. 21. The Tartars of High Tartary camp before Lhasa (P. 345).
- Nov. 30. After midnight, they assail Lhasa (P. 346). Desideri was then living at the University of Sera (P. 347).
- Dec. 3. They attack the Potala. King Cinghes-Khang is killed while in flight (P. 347).
- Dec. 8. Date on the first page of his Tibetan MS. of 117 large oblong pages (W. 275).
- Dec. Stay at Trong-gneê, in the Province of Takpo-Khier (W. 273).
- 1718. March 12. Writes from Takpo to Fr. Felice of Montecchio (P. 377): has news that Jesuits will be sent to Tibet in Nov. 1717.
- March. Writes to the General (from Takpo?) that, being the only Jesuit in Tibet, he cannot make his Profession (Letter 15).
- June 21. Date on last page of his Tibetan MS. of 117 large oblong pages (W. 275).
- June 24. Opening date on his Tibetan MS. of 704 oblong pages (W. 275).
- Aug. 4. Writes from Takpo to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Patna, in answer to his letter of Dec. 23, 1717, what happened at Lhasa to himself and the Capuchins in June 1717.
- Sept. Receives the General's answer to his letters from Goa (Letter 15).
Received a small subsidy from Agra in 1718 (Letter 15).

1719. The town of Jegaze (Shigatze), much damaged by the Giongars, is rebuilt, renewed and enlarged (P. 50).
The Emperor of China sends an army from Sining in 1719, which is destroyed at Dam (P. 353-354).
- Dec. 21. Has seen order of Propaganda (Dec. 12, 1718?) at Lhasa; writes from Lhasa to the General, and sends an appeal to the Pope, and the Propaganda.
1720. Another Chinese army is sent to Lhasa via Takpo-khier, where Desideri then was at Trong-gnee (P. 355).
- Sept. 28. Desideri is told to join the army; but is begged off by the Lama Governor (P. 355-356).
- Oct. The Giongars destroyed, Lhasa and Tibet pass into the power of the Chinese (P. 358).
From Dec. 1, 1717, till about the end of Oct. 1720, the monks of the yellow cap, helped by the Giongars, persecute fiercely the monks of the red cap, followers of Urglien, killing them and destroying their temples and convents (P. 314).
1721. Jan. Receives at Takpo the General's order (Jan. 16, 1719) recalling him from Tibet (Letter 15).
- April 4. Leaves Takpo (Letter 15).
- April 14. Arrives at Lhasa (Letter 15); Apr. 16 (P. 8; W. 269. 273).
- April 21. Sees at the Capuchin Hospice of Lhasa the Decree of Propaganda telling him to leave Tibet (P. 82).
- April 28. Leaves Lhasa for Kuti with Fr. Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Jesi, Capuchin; travels by Ghiangh-ze, and did not meet Fr. Felice of Montecchio (Patna, 1708-21) who was going to Lhasa by the Giegazzê route (P. 82; W. 273).
- May 30. Arrives at Kuti (P. 86; W. 273); Fr. Felice da Morro goes to Nepal, and dies of the influenza raging at Khatmandu (P. 87).
- June 29. Date on last page of Desideri's Tibet MS. of 54 pp. (W. 274).
- Sept. 21. Writes a letter to the General from Kuti (Letter 15).
Writes a letter to the Pope from Kuti (Letter 16).

- Oct. 5. Writes a letter to the General from Kuti (Letter 17).
- Dec. 14. Leaves for Nepal with Fr. Felice of Montecchio, back from Lhasa (P. 9. 27); Dec. 27 (W. 273). Travels by Nesti (P. 87).
- Dec. 27. Arrives at night at the Capuchin Hospice of Khatmandu (P. 9. 88).
1722. Jan. 14. Leaves Khatmandu for Bhatgaon (P. 9. 16).
 Jan. 20. Leaves Bhatgaon (P. 16).
 Febr. 6. Arrives at Patna (P. 9. 15).
 March 19. Writes a letter to Fr. Felix of Montecchio, ex-Prefect, then at Patna, whom in another paper he summons to answer his grievances at the Pope's tribunal.
 March 23. Leaves Patna (P. 9).
 March 31. Arrives at Benares (P. 9).
 April 20. Arrives at Agra (P. 9); April 22 (W. 273).
 Sept. Arrives at Delhi (P. 9); stays there till 1725 (W. 271).
1725. Nov. 21. Leaves Patna (P. 9).
 Dec. 20. Arrives at Chandernagore (P. 9).
1726. Jan. 10. Arrives at Pondicherry (P. 9).
 Dec. (middle of). Leaves Mylapore for Pondicherry (P. 10).
 Dec. 23. Arrives at Pondicherry.
1727. Jan. 21. Embarks at Pondicherry for Europe (P. 10).
 Febr. (end of). Arrives Mauritius (P. 10).
 March (beginning of). Arrives at St. Denis, in the Island of Bourbon (P. 10).
 April 12. Passes the Cape of Good Hope (P. 10).
 April (end of). Passes before St. Helena (P. 10).
 May. Ascension Island.
 June 11. Arrives at Fort St. Pierre, Martinique (P. 10).
 June 22. Re-embarks (P. 10).
 Aug. 11. Arrives at Port Louis in Brittany (P. 10).
 Sept. 12. Paris (P. 10).
 Oct. (middle of). Embarks at Marseilles for Genoa (P. 10).
 Nov. 4. Pistoia (P. 10).
 Dec. 11. Florence (P. 10).
 Dec. 23. Rome; Jan. 23, 1728 (W. 271. 273).
1728. June 22. Finishes his *Notizie Istoriche* (W. 279; title-page dated 1733).
1733. April 14. Death at Rome (W. 271).

21. An Article on Fr. Desideri by Prof. Carlo Puini (1895).

Di alcuni lettere inedite ò ignorate del P. Ippolito Desideri d. C.d.G., Missionario nel Tibet.

Of some unpublished or unknown letters of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, of the Company of Jesus, a Missionary in Tibet.

Innanzi che l' operosità di geografi e viaggiatori insigni di questi ultimi tempi si fosse rivolta verso quell'immenso altipiano chiuso del Kuen-lun e l' Imalaia, le conoscenze che si avevano del Tibet erano assai scarse, e dovuti a pochissimi. 'Le plus clair de nos renseignements sur l' intérieur de la région tibétaine, scrivera Vivien de Saint-Martin nel 1873, c'est aux missionaries que nous le devons, au P. della Penna notamment et surtout à Messieurs Huc et Gabet.' Ma, è noto, un viaggio molto più importante era stato fatto colà centotrent' anni prima dei due missionari francesi, da un nostro missionario pistoiese, il P. Ippolito Desideri; il quale inoltre fecevi un soggiorno di oltre dieci anni. I viaggiatori che si sono portati verso quella regione, non fecero, per molto tempo, che girare intorno al Tibet per ogni lato, varcandone appena quà e là i confini. Samuele Turner, tra gl' inglesi, fu quello che più vi s' interno nel 1783, ma dovette fermarsi al sud dello Thsang-po: e il Dr. Hoocher e il Campbell si spinsero appena oltre il Tikhim.

Before the activity of the geographers and great travellers of modern times was turned towards the immense closed table-land of the Kuen-lun and the Himalayas, the knowledge we had of Tibet was very small, and was due to a very few. 'Le plus clair de nos renseignements sur l' intérieur de la région tibétaine,' wrote Vivien de Saint-Martin in 1873, 'c'est aux missionaries que nous le devons, au P. della Penna notamment et surtout à Messieurs Huc et Gabet'. But, as is known, 130 years earlier than the two French Missionaries, a much more important journey had been made there by a Missionary of ours, Fr. Ippolito Desideri, of Pistoia, who moreover stayed there more than ten years.¹ For a long time the travellers who went towards Tibet did nothing more than turn around it from every side, and hardly crossed its frontiers here and there. Among Englishmen, Samuel Turner is the one who stayed there longest, in 1783; but he had to remain south of the Thsangpo. As for Dr. Hoocher² and Campbell, they scarcely pushed beyond Tikhim.³

¹ Puini writes under the impression formerly shared by so many that Desideri stayed in Tibet till his return to Europe. He was in Tibet from 1716 to the end of 1721.

² Read: Hooker.

³ Read: Sikkim.

Il Desideri è quegli, tra gli antiche e odierni viaggiatori che ha percorso più gran parte del Tibet, e che si è più lungamente trattenuto in mezzo a quelle genti.¹ Egli era perciò da aspettarsi da lui meglio che dagli altri, maggiori e distesi ragguagli del paese; egli era da aspettarsi dagli studiosi della geografia, della linguistica, della storia e delle religioni, specie del Buddhismo, un validissimo aiuto. Ma non fu così. Mentre le lettere, le relazioni, le notizie inviate a Roma dal P. Orazio della Penna (o Pennabilli, o Penna di Billi, della provincia di Macerata), nominato di sopra, e di Christiano Belligatti, altro cappuccino suo compagno di missione, furono almeno messe a profitto dal P. Antonio Giorgi, per compilare quel suo grosso ed indigesto volume, a cui dette il titolo di *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Roma, 1762); degli scritti del Desideri, niuno s'avvantaggiò. Vero è che il Collegio di Propaganda non ebbe quasi nulla di lui; o almeno nen ha quasi nulla a' di d'oggi. Di cose edite non si conosce del nostro pistoiese che una lettera, nelle *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (t. XV, pag. 183; ediz. Aimé-Martin, T. III, pag. 519), un' altra nella *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* della

Desideri is the one who traversed a greater part of Tibet than any ancient and modern traveller; he also sojourned longer than any other among its people.¹ From him therefore, more than from the rest, were to be expected greater and (more) detailed accounts of the country; from him had the students of geography, linguistics, history and religions, in particular Buddhism, to expect valuable help. But it was not so. The letters, relations, and informations sent to Rome by the above-mentioned Fr. Orazio della Penna (or Pennabilli, or Penna di Billi, of the Province of Macerata), and of Christiano² Belligatti, other Capuchin, his companion in the Mission, were at least utilised by Fr. Antonio Georgi for compiling that large, undigested volume of his to which he gave the title of *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome, 1762); but no one took advantage of the writings of Desideri. It is true that the College of Propaganda had almost nothing of his; at any rate, it has almost nothing nowadays. Of published things by our Pistoia countryman there is known only a letter in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (t. XV, p. 183; edn. Aimé-Martin, T. III, p.

¹ Il P. Antonio Andrade, portoghese, nel 1624 percorse in parte la strada del Desideri, ma non s'interno tant' oltre nel Tibet, quanto quest' ultimo.

¹ In 1624, Fr. Antonio Andrade, a Portuguese, did part of the journey of Desideri, but he did not penetrate into Tibet as far as the latter.

¹ Fr. Orazio della Penna was at Lhasa in 1716-32, and 1741-45. No other Missionary is known to have been so long at Lhasa or in Tibet.

² Read: Cassiano Beligatti.

Zaccaria, e una breve notizia nel *Journal Asiatique*.¹ D' inedito, la Congregazione di Propaganda Fide non possiede che una relazione da lui fatta il 13 Febbraio 1717 e diretta al S. Padre; la quale si trova tra le 'Carte riferite delle Indie orientali e Cina', sotto quella data; e una breve lettera del Settembre 1721, diretta pure al S. Padre, dal quale impetra l' ordine di essere chiamato a Roma, per potere riferire a voce intorno a cose di gravissima importanza, riguardanti la fede. Intanto la Relazione particolareggiata del viaggio del Desideri, fatta da lui, un grosso volume in 4^o. di 650 pagine, giaceva da assai tempo nella biblioteca di un colto pistoiese, raccogliitore assiduo

519);¹ another in the *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* of Zaccaria,² and a brief notice in the *Journal Asiatique*.³ Of what is unpublished, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide possesses only a relation by him, dated the 13th of February, 1717, and addressed to the Holy Father; this is found among the 'Carte riferite delle Indie orientali e Cina', under that date; and a short letter of September, 1721, also addressed to the Holy Father, whom he begs⁴ for the order of being called to Rome, in order to report on matters of very great importance concerning the faith.⁵ Meanwhile, the detailed Relation of Desideri's journey, written by him, a large in 4to volume of 650

¹ *Notes sur le Tibet par le P. Hippolyte Desideri*, recueillies par N. Delisle. *Nouv. Journ. As.*, VIII, 1831, pp. 117-121. Vedi anche Astley, *Coll. of Travels*, Vol. IV. Più tardi furono pubblicati alcuni consigli del Desideri ai missionari del Tibet, e qualche notizia bibliografica, nella *Rassegna Europea*, Giugno-Luglio 1876.

¹ *Notes sur le Tibet par le P. Hippolyte Desideri*, recueillies par N. Delisle. *Nouv. Journ. As.*, VIII, 1831, pp. 117-121. See also Astley, *Coll. of Travels*, Vol. IV. Later were published some points of advice for the Tibet Missionaries, and a bibliographical notice in the *Rassegna Europea*, June-July, 1876.—Puini (*Il Tibet*, p. XLII) gives for the last reference: *Rivista Europea*, June-July, 1876.—H.H.

¹ Puini (*Il Tibet . . . secondo la relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri . . . 1715-1721*, Roma, 1904, p. XLII) writes that the text is also in the *Sommario*. As this text must be in Italian, it ought to be followed in future in preference to translations, which have generally had to be followed. We have ourselves no access to the *Sommario* for the English translation of this letter.

² Puini, *op. cit.*, p. XLII, refers to p. 185 of the *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*.

³ Puini, *op. cit.*, p. XLII, refers to a short writing published by Klapproth in *Journal Asiatique*, 2^e serie, t. VII, 1831.

⁴ Desideri refers to this writing in his letter to the General, dated Lhasa, 15th February, 1717. (Cf. Puini, *op. cit.*, 373-374.) Why did Puini not publish it in his *Il Tibet*? The letter in Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, being also of the 13th February, 1717, appears to be the one addressed to the Pope on the same date.

⁵ This letter is in Puini, *op. cit.*, p. 382-383. It is dated Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721.

d'ogni memoria che illustra la sua terra: e dopo la morte di lui, passò, insieme con l'intera collezione di manoscritti e stampe, nella Biblioteca Magliabecchiana di Firenze, dove oggi si trova.¹ Questa Relazione a spese della *Società geografica italiana*, e per cura dell' illustre geografo Prof. Marinelli, vedrà finalmente la luce.

Ogni notizia, ancorchè di minima importanza, intorno alla materia di cui alcuno si occupa, giunge pel solito sempre gradita. Perciò il mio dotto Collega non isdegherà i seguenti appunti, dove si indicano, oltre le cose inedite del Desideri citate di sopra (una Relazione e una Lettera nel Collegio di Propaganda) altre tre Lettere del tutto ignorate dagli studiosi; o almeno di cui nessuno ha tenuto di conto; sebbene valessero certo quel poco che si conosceva del nostro missionario. Queste lettere si trovano in un *Sommario* per una causa della S. Ruota romana. I *Sommari* contenevano i documenti, che erano nominati e citati nel processo: si stampavano a pochissimo numero di esemplari, diciotto o venti tutto al più, tanto da servire a' magistrati, giudici e avvocati, che avevano

pages, had lain a long time in the library of a learned Pistoiese, a diligent collector of every document throwing light on his country; after his death, it passed with his entire collection of manuscripts and printed works into the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana of Florence, where it is to-day. This Relation will finally see the light at the expense of the *Società geografica italiana*, through the care of Professor Marinelli, the great geographer.

Every bit of information, even of the smallest value, is always welcome when it touches matters with which we are busy. Accordingly, my learned Colleague will not disdain the following notes pointing out, in addition to the unpublished things by Desideri which we mentioned above (a Relation and a Letter in the College of Propaganda), three other Letters quite unknown to scholars; at any rate, no one took notice of them, though surely they were worth as much as the little that was known of our Missionary. These letters are found in a *Sommario* for a case laid before the Roman Rota. The *Sommari* contained the documents which were referred to and cited in the process; they were printed at a very small number of copies, eighteen or twenty at the most, having to serve

¹ Di questo MS. fu data ampia notizia in un articolo intitolato: *Di una Relazione inedita d' un viaggio al Tibet del P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia, scritta da lui.*

¹ An ampler review of this MS. was given in an article entitled: *Di una Relazione inedita d' un viaggio al Tibet del P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia, scritta da lui.*

che fare con la causa. Terminata la causa, la più parte di questi *Sommari* passava negli studi degli avvocati, andava tra la cartaccia, così che pochissimi se ne conservano. I *Sommari* sono perciò quello che v' ha di più raro tra le cose stampate. Questo *Sommario* che contiene le Lettere del P. Desideri, apparteneva ad una causa di controversia, da decidersi forse dal Collegio di Propaganda, tra PP. Capuccini e PP. della Compagnia di Gesù, quanto al primato della fondazione della Mission tibetana. La lettera del P. Desideri, menzionata dinanzi, che si trova nell' archivio di Propaganda, fu probabilmente indirizzata al Pontefice in occasione ne di quella controversia; per sollecitare la licenza di venire in persona a dire le proprie ragioni, e difendere l' Ordine a cui apparteneva. Ecco la data e il soggetto delle Lettere contenute nel *Sommario*.

I. 'Leh nel secondo de' 3 Thibetti, 5 agosto 1715.'—Describe il suo viaggio da Gora (Novembre 1713) alla capitale del Ladak, e il suo soggiorno nella medesima; ed è diretta al Padre Generale d.C.d.G.

II. 'Lhasa, 15 Febbraio 1717.'—Pure diretta al Padre Generale dell' Ordine. Parla dei suoi studi di lingua tibetana, e della composizione, in quella stessa lingua, di alcuni libretti

only for the magistrates, judges, and barristers who had to deal with the case. When the case was ended, the greater number of these *Sommari* passed into the offices of these barristers, and got among their waste paper, so that very few are kept. The *Sommario*, containing the Letters of Desideri belonged to a case of dispute, to be decided perhaps by the College of Propaganda, between the Capuchin Fathers and the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, regarding priority in the founding of the Tibet Mission. Desideri's letter, mentioned above, which is found in the archive of Propaganda, was probably addressed to the Sovereign Pontiff in order to solicit his permission to come and state personally his reasons and to defend the Order to which he belonged. Here then is the date and the subject of the Letters contained in the *Sommario*.

I. 'Leh, in the second of the three Tibets, 5th August, 1715.'—It describes his journey from Gora (November 1713)¹ to the Capital of Ladak, and his stay in the same; and it is addressed to the Father General of the Company of Jesus.²

II. 'Lhasa, 15th February, 1717.'—Also addressed to the Father General of the Order. He speaks of his studies of the Tibetan language, and of the composition in the

¹ This is in Puini, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-370.

² Read: Goa.

di controversia religiosa, dove si propone di combattere il buddismo.

III. 'Scritta da Takpò nel Tibet li 4 Agosto 1718, a F. Felice da Montecchio cappucino in Pattuà nel Bohar.'—Quest' ultima è di pochissima importanza, trattandosi di gare e puntigli tra ordini religiosi.

same language of some book-lets of religious controversy, in which he intends combating Buddhism.¹

III. '(Letter) written from Takpò in Tibet, the 4th August, 1718, to Friar Felice da Montecchio, Capuchin, at Pattuà in the Bohar.'²—This last is of very small importance, as it deals with disputes and punctilios between Religious Orders.³

Prof. Carlo Puini.

Prof. Carlo Puini.

22. Desideri's *Notizie istoriche* and other Italian writings noticed by Fr. Wessels.

Fr. Wessels writes of the *Notizie istoriche* (P. 275):—

'MS. of 430 pp., 27 × 30 cm., in a very clear handwriting, not Desideri's.⁴ It has title-page and preface, and is divided into three books, each subdivided into chapters; it seems ready for the press.

'In the preface Desideri states that at first he had no intention of publishing anything, but now does he so at the instance of others. The last page of the MS. is dated June 22, 1728, the title-page 1733; did he hesitate all these years till his sudden death in 1733 prevented the publication?

'The MS. is cited as: Desideri MS.

'Its contents are as follows:

Notizie Istoriche del Thibet
e Memorie de' Viaggi e Missione ivi fatti
dal P. Ippolito Desideri
de la Compagnia di Giesù.
Dal medesimo scritte, e dedicate
1712-1733.'

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 370-376.

² Read: Patna in Bihar.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 378-382. It is one of the most interesting letters now extant.—Puini, *op. cit.*, p. XLII, refers to still another letter by Desideri in the *Sommario*. It is dated Takpò, 12th March, 1718, and is addressed to Fr. Felice of Montecchio. Puini published it, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-377.

⁴ I am inclined to think that the opening-page of Bk. II, appearing in Fr. Wessels' plate facing p. 276, is in Desideri's own writing. I say this after having handled a number of rotographs of Desideri's letters dated from 1713 to 1721. The writing in Fr. Wessels' plate is more slanting than in my rotographs; but Desideri's writing could undergo changes by 1728, and the changes I remark are too trivial to affect my opinion.

(Historical accounts of Tibet and Memoirs of the Journeys and the Mission there made by Fr. Ippolito Desideri, of the Company of Jesus. Written and dedicated by the same. 1712-1733.)

We proceed by translating the subjects of the chapters.

Pp. 3-6.

TO THE READER.

BOOK THE FIRST.

Memoirs of the Journey from Rome up to Lhasa, Capital City of the third Tibet, and mission undertaken there.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Ch. I, pp. 1-4. | Departure from Rome and journey up to Lisbon. |
| Ch. II, pp. 4-10. | Voyage from Lisbon up to height of the Cape of Good Hope. |
| Ch III,
pp. 10-16. | Continuation of the voyage by sea up to Mossambiche and then up to Goa. (P. 276.) |
| Ch. IV,
pp. 16-28. | Departure from Goa and Journey up to the city of Delly, Capital of the Empire of the Mogol. Brief accounts of that court. |
| Ch. V,
pp. 28-35. | Of the Churches and Christianity which the Company of Jesus has at Delly and of some notable Christians living there. |
| Ch. VI,
pp. 35-42. | Stay in the city of Agra, and accounts of the Mission which the Company of Jesus has there. |
| Ch. VII,
pp. 42-47. | Departure from Delly; arrival at Cascimir and stay in that city. Some accounts of that place. |
| Ch. VIII,
pp. 47-54. | Departure from Cascimir and journey up to Lhasa, Capital of the second Tibet. |
| Ch IX,
pp. 54-57. | Stay at Lhasa, Capital City of the second and Great Tibet. Departure and arrival at Tréesey-Khang. |
| Ch. X,
pp. 57-69. | Journey of the Great Desert of Ngnari Giongar and help received from the company of a Tartar Princess. |
| Ch. XI,
pp. 69-75. | Entering the first populations of the third and Greatest Tibet. Continuation of the journey and arrival at the Capital. Visit to the King and to the Prime Ministers. Beginning of Mission in that Kingdom. |
| Ch. XII,
pp. 75-80. | Protection from the King. Help given to the same and to the Prime Minister in a certain danger. Gratitude shown by the same. Refusing their gifts and offerings. |

- Ch. XIII, pp. 80-85. First Book composed by the Author in that language and solemnly presented to the King at a public Audience.
- Ch. XIV, pp. 85-88. Study of the Books and of the errors of those People.
- Ch. XV, pp. 88-92. Other books composed by the Author in that language.
- Ch. XVI, pp. 92-101. Account of the Mission which the Company of Jesus has had in Tibet, from its foundation up to the time of the Author. (P. 277.)

BOOK THE SECOND.

Accounts of the Nature, Customs and Civil Government of Tibet.

- Ch. I, pp. 1-6. Limits and situation of Great Tibet.
- Ch. II, pp. 6-12. Climate and fertility of the country of Tibet.
- Ch. III, pp. 12-17. Of the Musk animal and of other animals which are in Tibet.
- Ch. IV, pp. 17-20. Of the Rivers of Tibet and of their Boats and Bridges.
- Ch. V, pp. 20-26. Of the Western Part of Tibet and of some of its Provinces and Cities.
- Ch. VI, pp. 26-32. Of the City of Lhasa, Capital of Tibet, and its environs.
- Ch. VII, pp. 32-35. Of the neighbourhood of Lhasa and the intermediate Provinces of this Tibet.
- Ch. VIII, pp. 35-38. Of the Provinces of the Western¹ part of Tibet.
- Ch. IX, pp. 38-42. Of the Dominion of Tibet which passed into the hands of the Tartars.
- Ch. X, pp. 42-47. Revolutions in Tibet before its Dominion passed from the Tartars to the Chinese.
- Ch. XI, pp. 47-53. Unhappy end of King Cinghes-Khang and of his Family.
- Ch. XII, pp. 53-60. Of the Dominion of Tibet when it had passed from the Tartars to the Chinese.
- Ch. XIII, pp. 60-68. Of the civil Government of Tibet.
- Ch. XIV, pp. 68-77. Of the dress and food used in Tibet.
- Ch. XV, pp. 77-83. Of the Letters and Alphabet of the Tibetans, and the ability of that People for Studies and Arts.
- Ch. XVI, pp. 83-90. Of the bodily dispositions, occupations, gymnastic games (*ginochi*), agriculture and inclination of the Tibetans.

¹ *Sic* ? or Eastern ?

- Ch. XVII, Of the marriages of the Tibetans.
pp. 90-96.
Ch. XVIII, Customs of the Tibetans regarding the dead.
pp. 96-103.

BOOK THE THIRD.

Departure from the Mission of the Kingdoms of Tibet; passing over to other Missions and return to Europe.

- Ch. I, pp. 1-8. Departure from Lhasa. Stay made at Kutti. Departure from the last limits of Tibet and arrival in the Kingdom of Nepal.
Ch. II, pp. 8-18. Some accounts of the Kingdom of Nepal. (P. 278.)
Ch. III, Journey from Nepal up to the Ganges and up to the City of Patna.
pp. 18-27.
Ch. IV, Some accounts of the City of Patna.
pp. 27-36.
Ch. V, pp. 36-43. Departure from Patna, and journey up to the City of Agra. Accounts of the Cities of Benares and of Allahabad and of the Ganges. Stay made at Agra.
Ch. VI, Mission made at Delly, Capital City of the Mogol.
pp. 43-57.
Ch. VII, Exposes the causes of the disturbances which arose in the Mogol between the Emperor and his Vazir Nezam-em-muluk.
pp. 57-66.
Ch. VIII, In which is continued the description of the disturbances of the Mogol between the Emperor and the Grandees of the Court.
pp. 66-77.
Ch. IX, Departure from Delly. Return to Patna.
pp. 77-85. Going to Bengala. Voyage to Pondiscery.
Ch. X, pp. 85-91. Accounts of the City of Pondiscery. Going to the Mission of the Carnat.
Ch. XI, Accounts of the Mission which the Company of Jesus fruitfully exercises in the Kingdom of Carnat.
pp. 91-102.
Ch. XII, Departure from the Mission of Carnat. Accounts of the City of Meliapur, and of the memories which are preserved there of the Apostle St. Thomas. Accounts of the City of Madrassa.
pp. 102-106.
Ch. XIII, Departure from the Indies. Voyage to Europe. Mortal illness at sea. Grace received by the intercession of the Ven. Fr. John de Brito.
pp. 116-123.¹

¹ Does the pagination pass from p. 106 to p. 116 without intervening matter, or does Ch. XII go up to p. 116?

- Ch. XIV, pp. 123-132. Continuation of the voyage after the Cape of Good Hope. Islands of St. Helena and of the Ascension. Passing the Line and arrival at the Island of Martinique in America. Arrival at Port Louis.
- Ch. XV, pp. 132-137. Journey from Port Louis to Paris, and from Paris to Marseilles.
- Ch. XVI, pp. 137-146. Journey from Marseilles to Genoa. Going through Tuscany and arrival at Rome.
- Ch. XVII, pp. 146-157. Opinion of the Author regarding the doctrine required in Missionaries of the Indies; and first how great it ought to be. (P. 279.)
- Ch. XVIII, pp. 157-165. What doctrine and of what particular kind ought to be the doctrine which is indispensably necessary in the Missionaries who are destined to the conversion of the Infidels in the Indies.
- Ch. XIX, pp. 165-175. In what manner the above-exposed and necessary doctrine can be promoted in the Missionaries who are destined for the Indies.
- Ch. XX, pp. 175-210. In which is shown the grave obligation indispensably incumbent on every Christian, of helping and promoting the Missions to be made among the Infidels; and in what manner such obligation can be discharged by each one in his own state.

22nd June, 1728.

Fr. Wessels continues:—

‘Another MS., 27×195 cm., to be cited as MS. B. seems to be a first draft on account of its many erasures, corrections and additions. It contains much of what is found in MS. A., but it has, besides, a great number of chapters dealing with the religion of the Tibetans. These chapters are, naturally, beyond the scope of the present work.

‘The sequence of Books and Chapters in MS. B. is somewhat puzzling: Book I covers 138 pp. and its division into 16 Chapters corresponds to that of Book I in MS. A.

‘Book II from p. 1-124 parallels chapters 1-13 of MS. A. Book II. They are immediately followed by some chapters that form part of Book III, which treats of the religion of Tibet; the headings are:’ (Here we proceed by translating from the Italian.)

- Ch. I, pp. 135-140. Of the Grand Lamma, Chief of the Religion.
- Ch. II, pp. 140-156. Reasons persuading (me in the belief) that the above-mentioned incarnation of the

- new Grand Lamma is work immediately (proceeding) from the Devil.
- Ch. III, Answer to the arguments of who thinks that
pp. 156-169. the deceit related is the artifice of men,
and not of the Devil.
- Ch. XIX, In which are continued the accounts referring
pp. 175-185.¹ to the Grand Lamma and other inferior
Lammass of Tibet.
- Ch. XX, Of Religious men and women of Tibet;
pp. 185-203. of their convents, dress, institute and
customs.
- Ch. XXI, Different kinds of Religions who are in
pp. 203-214. Tibet.
- 'Leaving one page blank there now follows from p. 216-260
the rough copy of chapters 14-18 of Book II, MS. A. After
another blank page these are followed by 16 chapters, not assigned
to any Book; the headings are subjoined.' (P. 280.)
- Ch. XXVII, In which we begin to treat of the errors
pp. 262-275. and of the Religion of the Tibetans.
And first we explain the system of the
Metempsychosis or Pythagoric transmigra-
tion, as it is maintained and believed by
the same.
- Ch. XXVIII, Opinion of the Tibetans regarding the
pp. 276-288. animals, and certain living Beings by them
called Itaa which they believe, and affirm
to be destined to Hell (*che coso* (sic. in W.)
credino affermino in ordine all' Inferno).
- Ch. XXIX, Continues the accounts of other things which
pp. 288-310. the Tibetans maintain and believe con-
cerning the explanation of their system of
Metempsychosis.
- Ch. XXX, Exposes and explains another most enor-
pp. 310-317. mous and primary error of the Sect of the
Tibetans, which consists in denying the
existence of an *Ens a se* and non-caused,
and of any primary cause of all things.
- Ch. XXXI, Whether the Tibetans, denying the existence
pp. 317-324. of the true God, admit some fabulous
Divinity, or are absolutely without know-
ledge of God.
- Ch. XXXII, Of three classes of objects of worship and of
pp. 324-337. invocation which the Tibetans admit.
The quality thereof is explained and it is
shown that in them they recognize no
Divinity.

¹ A gap from p. 169 to p. 175?

- Ch. XXXIII, pp. 337-347. Of what the Religion of the Tibetans contains in order to morality, or in order to virtue and vices, and in order to regulating manners.
- Ch. XXXIV, pp. 347-357. Of the Legislator of the Tibetans and of some fables they relate of the same.
- Ch. XXXV, pp. 357-371. Of two other chief Idols of the Tibetans, one called Cen-ree-sy, and the other called Urgbien.
- Ch. XXXVI, pp. 371-381. Of other fables about the above-said Urgbien, which the Tibetans believe and spread.
- Ch. XXXVII, pp. 381-388. Tibet anciently without law. King Si-Kiong-teuzzen seeks a Religion. For the purpose he sends Ambassadors to divers parts and picked young men to Hendustan. (P. 281.)
- Ch. XXXVIII, pp. 388-402. By whom the false Religion was introduced into Tibet. First temple built in that Kingdom; books translated into that language; Convents of Religions instituted there and other industries used there to disseminate the errors.
- Ch. XXXIX, pp. 402-413. Of other inferior objects of veneration invoked and revered by the Tibetans.
- Ch. XL, pp. 413-422. Of some places held in veneration by the Tibetans and of what they observe towards them. Of their rosary and their fasts.
- Ch. XLI, pp. 422-433. Solving some doubts and questions which might occur regarding the matters hitherto treated.
- Ch. XLII, pp. 433-443. Of some Relations and authors who have treated of Tibet, and judgment regarding them.¹

23. The Desideri MS. used by Puini.

Puini's preface treats exclusively of the MS. by Desideri which he used for his work *Il Tibet*, Roma, 1904. We translate his preface.

(P. VII.) The manuscript containing the Relation of Fr. Ippolito Desideri's journey in Tibet, formerly in the possession of Cav. Rossi-Cassigoli of Pistoia, a diligent collector of the memoirs of his native city was found back by me in 1875, on indications I received from Prof. Gherardo Nerucci.² Even

¹ Much, perhaps most, of the matter in the extra chapters of MS. B. is included in the MS. used by Puini, as will be seen on comparison.

² Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet*, etc., London, 1876, p. lix;—*Bulletino italiano degli studi orientali*, year 1876, Nos. 2-3;—F. Von Richthofen, *China*, Vol. I, p. 673.—C.P.

then I had the idea of publishing it, with the explanations and notes which it required; but the owner of the MS. did not consent; rather, on the advice of a friend, he preferred to give up, against adequate compensation, the ownership of the copy to the London Hakluyt Society, which, on hearing that it had been found back, had intended to make of it an English translation with the necessary comments.¹

When the Pistoia gentleman died, the Rossi-Cassigoli collection was acquired by the National Library of Florence, and Desideri's MS. thus became public property. Then, my former intention returned, and I started studying again that part of the Relation which concerns chiefly Buddhism and the Lamaie Church. Meanwhile, the Italian Geographical Society in one of its meetings held in the year 1896 deliberated about entrusting the care of publishing the important journey of the Pistoia Jesuit to the ever-regretted (P. VIII) Prof. Giovanni Marinelli, who soon had an exact copy of the MS. made, and with his inborn courtesy allowed me to use it at my convenience for my special studies on Tibet and Desideri.² The premature death of the eminent Geographer prevented the execution of the plan of the Geographical Society. In the course of 1901, in another of its meetings, it decided the publication of my old piece of work, which for years was almost completed. It now sees the light with the modifications and additions which greater experience has suggested to me.

The MS. from which are taken the materials of this book is a small size folio volume of about 630 pages.³ It bears the title:

BREVE E SUCCINCTO RAGGUAGLIO DEL VIAGGIO ALLE
INDIE ORIENTALI DEL PADRE IPPOLITO DESIDERI DELLA
COMPAGNIA DI GESÙ.

This title cannot refer however to more than the first quire (*quaderno*); in all the rest there is question of Persia, Kashmir, India, the Mission of the Jesuits; and a goodly half of the volume concerns Tibet.

After this brief and succinct account, in the form of an itinerary, which I have just mentioned, and which occupies the first ten pages or so, Desideri describes the Empire of the Mogol, and speaks at length of Donna Giuliana Dias da Costa,

¹ A. de Gubernatis, *Scritti di Marco della Tomba*, Firenze, 1878, p. xix.—C.P.

² Published in several fascicles in the *Rivista italiana di Sociologia*, in the *Rivista geografica italiana*, and in *Studi di Filologia Indo-Iranica* of Professor Bullé.—C.P.

³ When I examined it to make a description of it for the *Buletino italiano degli studi orientali* (July, 1876), the pages were not numbered and the volume was loose; now the volume is bound and numbered by leaves, which are about 320.—C.P.

who lived at that court, where she had won great esteem, chiefly for her skill in medicine and surgery. Next, he uses several pages to speak of the Mission (P. IX) in that country, and of Fr. Rodolfo Acquaviva, who was very learned in Persian, in which he wrote several religious treatises. Continuing next his journey, he describes Kashmir, and chiefly the capital 'called Earthly Paradise by all the peoples of the Mogol'; thence, crossing the Himalayas by the Zoji-la pass, he enters the Tibetan country about the end of May 1715, beginning the journey which is of special interest to us and forms the argument of this volume. After a six years' stay in Tibet, he crosses again the Himalayas, returns by way of Nepal to the dominions of the Great Mogol, describes again its countries, and speaks at length of his apostolate up to his return to Europe, which took place in 1726.¹ The MS. finishes with some advice and considerations on the Mission in India, and in Tibet, which fill more than 50 pages.

The entire contents of the MS. run on consecutively without division into chapters, or any other division,² and not unfrequently the same subject or what may be regarded as belonging to the same subject, is treated in several separate parts of the volume, which makes the reading of it tedious and not sufficiently profitable. Accordingly, for what regards the matter contained in that part (P. X) of the Relation which refers to Tibet, and which is the greater part, I have tried to arrange it methodically, subdividing it, according to the subjects, in Parts, Chapters and Paragraphs, so as to render the book as useful as possible for students of Tibetan things, giving them the means of profiting easily by the abundant information which Desideri supplies us with on the geography, the customs and the religion of Tibet.

It seems that Desideri wrote his Relation at the request of an ecclesiastic, to whom he shows much deference. Throughout his voluminous manuscript he never names him; and, when

¹ The narrative, conducted in the order I have said, ends at fol. 263v, with these words: 'Meanwhile, be Your Reverence pleased that, stopping the course of my narrative, I humbly beg you to deign accept my humble service, wherein, not with ornaments of choice and elegant diction, but with the simple and rough plainness of a candid narrative, I have not aimed at anything else than executing your esteemed orders, and attesting my obedience, which as most humble and most devoted servant I have always professed for you, etc.' From these words it is seen that Desideri was led to write at the express request of some Father Superior of his. From fol. 264 there are, in great part, discourses concerning the Mission and the Missionaries.—C.P.

² Only towards the end of the MS., the part containing the narrative of the return is divided, I cannot understand for what reasons, into three chapters, numbered 13, 14, and 15.—C.P.

Book II of MS. A. noticed by Fr. Wessels begins the return journey at Ch. 13, and continues the voyage up to Port Louis (Brittany) and Marseilles through chapters 14 and 15.—H.H.

he turns to him directly, as required at times by the form he gives to the narrative, he calls him simply Your Reverence. When he had already traversed India and Tibet, and shortly before he made ready to leave the East, Desideri met this priest in the kingdom of the Carnatic (*di Carnat*), where he was in apostolic mission; and *à propos* of this meeting he writes: 'The few accounts which I could give you only in passing (*alla sfuggita*) about my journey to Great Tibet, of the customs and sects of these countries, excited in Your Reverence such a desire of being fully and very minutely informed about them, that, before we parted from each other, you wished to have from me a reliable promise that I would transmit to you, at least from a distance, a complete and precise account of them'. In fact, during his voyage from Pondicherry up to France, notwithstanding the inconvenience he suffered, the serious illness which afflicted him, and the duties of Chaplain of the ship which were entrusted to him, 'he had nothing more at heart than to fulfil the best way he could the promise he had given'.¹

Though Desideri asserts that he composed his narrative during the voyage which brought him back to Europe, he must have written it partly in Rome, as it seems to me certain indications would go to show; or at least he must (P. XI) have completed it there. To the Relation, addressed to that ecclesiastic, were added, no doubt by Desideri himself, a few pages of introduction with the title: *Breve e succinto ragguaglio del viaggio all' Indie orientali* (Brief and succinct relation of the journey to the East Indies); and at the end (fols. 264r-272r) an *Aggiunte d' una breve recapitolazione di ciò che appartiene semplicemente a' sopra riferiti viaggi, e alcuni più importanti sentimenti dell' autore intorno alle missioni dell' Indie* (Addition (consisting) of a brief recapitulation of what appertains simply to the above-related journey, and some more important ideas of the author regarding the missions of the Indies); after that, comes (fols. 272v-316v) a *Conclusione del presente ragguaglio, e sentimento dell' autors intorno alle Missioni dell' Indie orientali* (Conclusion of the present relation, and opinion of the author regarding the Missions of the East Indies).

The manuscript now owned by the Magliabecchiana is certainly not Desideri's autograph; one recognizes in it very

¹ In 1726, which Fr. Desideri spent in the Carnatic Mission, the Superior was Fr. Venance Bouchet, one of the most learned and literary men that Mission has produced. His own previous studies could not but make him receive Fr. Desideri with unbounded enthusiasm. He was the very man who would have insisted on having from Desideri a full account of his travels and experience, and of the religion of Tibet. Desideri's Superior, he could exact a solemn promise that the work would be written. Moreover, to Fr. Bouchet is attributed a life of Blessed John de Brito, the Marava martyr, the process for whose beatification was entrusted to Desideri.—H.H.

clearly three handwritings, but all of the time. The Italian orthography is not always well observed; and, in particular, the last of the three writings, which from certain indications appears rather to have been made under dictation, seems to be that of a somewhat ignorant copyist. Nevertheless, the orthography of the Tibetan words, excepting some mistakes, is very well observed; all the Tibetan words and proper names, though transcribed as Desideri had learned to pronounce them, are easily brought back to their literary form by one who has some familiarity with that language, which to us is also a guarantee of the exactness and authenticity of the accounts collected by Desideri and of the knowledge he had acquired of the language of Tibet.¹

24. Two specimens of Desideri's Tibetan writings.

1. Facing p. 274 of his work, Father Wessels publishes the first page of a Tibetan MS. by Fr. Desideri, which contains 704 oblong pages, 33.5 × 18.5 cm., having 35 lines to the page. The opening page is dated June 24, 1718.

2. The second specimen, also facing p. 274 of the same work, is the first page of another Tibetan MS. by Desideri, containing 128 narrow strips, 33.5 × 13.5 cm., with 7 lines to the page. The MS. is undated. Both MSS. belong to the Society of Jesus in Europe. We have commented somewhat on these two Tibetan MSS. and two others by Desideri at pp. 106-107, note 8.

25. Bibliographical notes on Fr. Ippolito Desideri.

From: Sommervogel, Carlos, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Vol. 2 (1891), cols. 1963-1964.

Desideri, Hippolytus, born at Pistoia in 1684, entered the novitiate, May 9, 1700; left for the East Indies in 1712, and was from there sent to Tibet. In 1727 he was sent to Rome, to carry thither the process for the beatification of Blessed John de Britto, and he died there on April 14, 1733.

1. Letter of Father H. Desideri to Father Ildebrandus Grassi (Translated from the Italian). On Tibet. At Lassa, April 10, 1716;—in the *Lettres édif.*, 15e recueil, pp. 183-208;—(edn. 1843), t. II, pp. 531-535.—Reprinted, t. VII, chapt. 7 of *Histoire des Voyages*, by the Abbé Prévot (Paris, 1746-1789).

Translated into German in Father Stöcklein's *Welt-bott*, No. 175.

2. A letter dated Febr. 13, 1717; in the *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* of Father Zaccaria, pp. 185-186.

¹ If the Desideri MS. used by Puini was written mostly on board ship, one might expect it to have been worked out less carefully than the two MSS. noticed by Fr. Wessels, both of which are divided into Books and Chapters.—H.H.

3. Alla sacra congregazione da propaganda fide Difesa I della Compagnia di Giesù in ordine alla missione del Tibet, e difesa del M. R. P. Generale della medesima Compagnia contro le scritture del R. P. Felice da Montecchio Cappuccino, *Sine loco* (Roma), Typis Giannini et Mainardi, 1728, 4to, pp. 18 unnumbered.—Alla sacra . . . Difesa II della Compagnia di Giesù e del P. Ippolito Desiderj della medesima Compagnia, contro le . . Ibid., id., 1728, 4to, pp. 31 unnumbered.—Alla sacra . . . Difesa III della Compagnia di Giesù contro la scrittura del P. Fr. Felice da Montecchio Cappuccino, intitolata Risposta alla relazione della missione del Tibet data da' PP. della Compagnia di Giesù. Ibid., id., 1728, 4to, pp. 19 unnumbered.

4. Notes géographiques sur le Tibet,¹ recueillies par N. Delisle et publiées par Klaproth;—in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1831, t. VIII, p. 117-121.

5. Travels into Tibet in 1714. By Hippolit Desideri, an Italian Jesuit. Now first translated from the French; in t. IV of Astley's *Collection of Travels*, and at pp. 302-308 of Markham's *Magazine*.

I believe it is the translation of No. 1.

6. (Advice of Fr. Desideri to travellers);—in the *Rivista Europea*, June and July 1876.

7. In No. 1 he says that he has composed two works in Tibetan: the first to refute the error that all can save themselves by following their law; the second against metempsychosis. He began to translate the second in verse.

A. Map of Hindustan.

B. Letter (in Italian), dated Agra, 1714, 4to, pp. 4.—In the Library of Stonyhurst, England (A.I. 36, 2nd part).

C. Translation of the Sahorim or Kangiur. (Zaccaria: *Bibl. Pistoriensis*, p. 186.)

D. An Italian, Mr. Carlo Pruini announced that he had found back a MS. of Father Desideri which he intended publishing. It is perhaps the one of which there is question in Markham's *Magazine*. He gives details on this Missionary (1876, No. 1, p. 21, and No. 9, pp. 233-254) and adds that an inhabitant of Pistoia possessed one of his MSS., dated 1727, and containing 500 pages: *Di una Relazione inedita del viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia, scritta da lui stesso*;—in the *Bullettino italiano degli studii orientali* (Firenze), anno 1, Luglio, 1876, pp. 33-42.

From Sommervogel, Carlos, S.J., *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, Vol. 9 (1900), cols. 204-205.

Desideri, Hippolytus:

Born on Dec. 21, 1684, admitted on April 27, 1700 . . .

He spent 5 years in Tibet.

¹ Read: Tibet.—H.H.

8. Di alcune lettere inedite o ignorate del P. Ippolito Desideri, d. C. d. G., Missionario nel Tibet;—in *Lavori presentati al professore Giovanni Marinelli nel venticinquesimo anniversario delle sue nozze*. Firenze, tip. M. Ricci, 1895, in 8vo, pp. III-104. (By Carlo Puini.)

9. Letter, from Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721, to the Sovereign Pontiff; in *La Revista Europea*, July 1876, p. 293.

Narucci¹ (Gherardo). Intorno al Padre Ippolito Desideri de Pistoia d. C. d. G.,—in *La Revista*, July 1876, pp. 289-294.—He mentions therein the *Relazione* (see D) owned by Mr. Phil. Rossi-Cassigoli of Pistoia. At MS. D. correct *Pruini* to *Puini*.

From Ernest M. Rivière, S.J., *Corrections et Additions à la Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Supplément au 'de Backer-Sommervogel', Troisième Fascicule, Toulouse, Chez l'Auteur, 7. Rue Boulbonne, 1913, cols. 431-432.*

10. Viaggio nel Tibet del P. Ippolito Desideri, dal Prof. Carlo Puini—in *Rivista geografica italiana*, t. VII (1900), pp. 562-582.—The chapter relating to Tibetan Buddhism was published by Puini in *Studi Italiani di filologia Indo-iranica*, t. III.

Carlo Puini: *Il P. Ippolito Desideri e suoi Viaggi nell'India e nel Tibet (1712-1727). Il Buddhismo nel Tibet secondo la relazione inedita del viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri*. Firenze, G. Carnesecchi e Figli, 1899. In 8vo, pp. XXXII-63.

Carlo Puini: *Il Tibet*. (Geografia, Storia, Religione, Costumi) secondo la *Relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri (1715-1721)*.

Roma, presso la Società geografica italiana, 1904. In 8vo, pp. LXIV-402. (*Memorie della Società geografica italiana, Volume Decimo*.)

A. Magnaghi: *Il Tibet nella Relazione del P. Ippolito Desideri*,—in *Rivista geografica italiana*, t. XI (1904), pp. 76-108, according to the previous work.

Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, 2nd edn., cols. 2904-2905.

Comments: (1) What does Sommervogel mean by Markham's *Magazine*? Desideri's letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, S.J., is at pp. 302-208 of Clements R. Markham's *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, London,

¹ *Sic*, for Nerucci.

Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1876. In his preface, p. vii, Markham says simply: 'The narratives of Grueber, Desideri, and Horace della Penna, Catholic priests who visited Lhasa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are given in an Appendix'.—For 'fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' read '17th and 18th centuries'.

At p. lix he writes: 'The manuscript containing the narrative of his (Desideri's) journey to and residence in Tibet has recently been examined by Signor Carlo Puini. That learned scholar reports that it is in the library of a private gentleman at Pistoia, and consists of a large folio volume, dated 1727, of about 500 pages, closely but very clearly and legibly written. It contains a great abundance of notices respecting the geography of Tibet, and the manners and customs, and religion of the Tibetans. There are two other documents of Desideri in the library of the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome. The first is another narrative, dated February 17, 1717,¹ soon after his arrival at Lhasa, and addressed to the Pope, and the second is a letter written in autograph by Desideri to the Pope.

'Father Desideri also translated the "Kangiar" of the great reforming Lama, Tsong-khapa, into Latin.'

Markham adds in a note at p. lix: 'Signor Carlo Puini examined the manuscript at Pistoia on November 19, 1875, and he will be furnished with copies both of it and of the documents at Rome. He will then write an exhaustive paper on Father Desideri and his travels, and eventually he hopes to publish the manuscript itself, with the necessary elucidations. I am indebted to Colonel Yule for this important news respecting the Desideri manuscripts, and their contemplated publication, which ought to be promptly followed by an English edition'.

(2) No. 7 in Sommervogel (II, cols. 1963-1964) should have been marked as a MS. under one of the letters of the alphabet.

(3) Not in Sommervogel's No. 1, but in Sommervogel's No. 2 does Desideri mention the two treatises. On the Italian treatise on the one way of salvation and the Italian treatise against transmigration, see Desideri's letter to the General (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717), and his letter to an unknown person in Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, pp. 185-186.

(4) See the same two letters on his translation into Tibetan verse of the two Italian texts mentioned under our No. 3. These two Tibetan texts are likely to exist still among the MSS. preserved by the Society of Jesus in Europe. See on it note 8 of my section No. 10.

(5) On the composition of a Catechism, a Grammar and a Dictionary, see Desideri's letter to the General (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717), p. 375 in Puini. The Catechism appears to have been added to the treatise on transmigration and to the refutation

¹ February 13, 1717, in Puini, *Il Tibet*, p. xlii.

of the chief error of the Tongpa-gni. Cf. note 6 of my section No. 10.

(6) Zacharia is our authority for the statement that Desideri translated into Latin a compendium of the Sahorim or Kangiur by Tsongkhapa. Is not this the Lam-rin-chen-ba, or Precious Doctrine by Tsongkhapa, of which we speak in note 3 of our section No. 14?

(7) To Sommervogel-Rivière must be added as published by Fr. C. Wessels the letter in the Stonyhurst Library (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714), to which I refer in my introduction.

(8) Sir E. Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London, writes to Sir Edward Maclagan on 31-11-1929 that Sir Filippo de Filippi 'is working on an entirely new manuscript, which he is editing and of which he is giving us an English translation for the Broadway Travellers. He speaks in his last letter of having "completed the annotation of Books I and II, which will form Volume I of the publication"'. Since one of the MSS. described by Fr. C. Wessels is divided into 3 books, whereas Puini's has no divisions, we cannot be far wrong in guessing that the MS. used by Sir Filippo de Filippi is the identical MS. described by Fr. Wessels or a copy of the same. This, indeed, is good news.

(9) The notes on Tibet collected by N. Delide and annotated by Klaproth (*Journal Asiatique*, 2^e serie, Vol. 8, pp. 117-121, do not quote Desideri textually. Nothing shows from what MS. by Desideri these notes were obtained.

(10) Prof. Puini's study and extracts from Desideri's MS. in *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*, Vol. 3 (1899) (comprise pp. I-XXXII; 1-63. It was republished in book-form at Florence the same year. Cf. above Rivière: Carlo Puini, *Fr. P. Ippolito Desideri e suoi Viaggi*

In Robert Streit, O.M.I., *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Erster Band, Munster i. 3., 1916, Verlag der Aschendorffschen Buchhandlung, we find that Desideri's letter of Lhasa, dated 10.4.1716, and addressed to Fr. Grassi, appeared in the following publications:—

(1) Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, XV Recueil, Paris, M. DCC. XXII, pp. 183-209. Cf. Streit, p. 377.

(2) Joseph Stöcklein, S.J., 'Welt-Bott', Sibender Theil, Augspurg and Grätz, 1726, No. 175, pp. 90-94 (the date is here given, erroneously, as 10.4.1715 by Streit). Cf. Streit, p. 385.

(3) Astley's Collection (New General Collection of Voyages and Travels, London), Vol. IV (M. DCC. XLVII), pp. 655-658, the title being: Travels into Tibet, in 1714. By Hypolito Desideri, an Italian Jesuit. (This collection also contains: Travels through Tibet, to and from China, by several Missionaries,

pp. 649-651.—Travels from China to Europe, in 1661. By John Grueber, Jesuit, pp. 651-655.)

(4) Prévost's *Histoire Générale des Voyages* . . . La Haye, Vol. IX, M. DCC. XLIX: Voyage d'Hipolyte Desideri au Tibet, 1715, pp. 455-460. Cf. Streit, p. 450.

(5) *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande* . . . , Leipzig, bey Arkstee und Mervus (a translation of Astley's Collection), Band 7 (1750): Reisen nach Tibet, Im Jahre 1714, durch Hypolitus Desiderius, einen italienischen Jesuit, pp. 562-568. Cf. Streit, p. 451.

(6) *Cartas Edificantes Curiosas*, Madrid, En la Oficina de la Viuda de Manuel Fernandez, Tomo Decimo, MDCCLV, pp. 50-61. Cf. Streit, p. 465.

(7) *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* . . , Paris, Tome XII, M. DCC. LXXXI, pp. 430-446. Cf. Streit, p. 537.

(8) *Choix des Lettres Edifiantes*, Paris, Tome VIII, MDCCCXXVI, pp. 268-278. Cf. Streit, p. 577.

From H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, IV. 2905-2906.

(1) Desideri's letter of Lhasa, 10.4.1716, appears also in *Pant. litt.*, III, pp. 531-535.

(2) Hugh Murray, *Historical Account*, I, Ch. IX, pp. 441-445.

(3) Puini's *Il Tibet* was reviewed in the *Geographical Journal*, XXV, No. 1, January 1905, pp. 84-85. By A. H. Keane.

(4) C. Puini.—Il Matrimonio nel Tibet. (*Riviste Italiana di Sociologia*, amo W, 1900, pp. 149-168.

Review: *L'Anthropologie*, XI, 1900, pp. 629-633, by Ch. de Ujfalvy.

(5) Carlo Puini's Lhasa (*Rivista geog. italiana*, X, 1903, pp. 546-548.

26. Letter of Fr. Francis Borgia Koch, S.J., to Fr. Anthony Mordax, S.J., Vienna (Goa, 1706).

(From Fr. Stöcklens *Welt-Bott*, Vol. 5.)

(P. 83, Col. 2) Num. 117.

Brief

Patris Francisci Borgiae Koch,
der Gesellschaft Jesu Mis-
sionarii, aus
der Oester reichischen Provintz
An

R.P. Antonium Mordax,
des Probhauses gedachter So-
cietät bey

(P. 83, col. 2). No. 117.

Letter

of Father Francis Borgia Koch,
Missionary of the Society of
Jesus,
of the Province of Austria.

To

the Rev. Father Anthony
Mordax,
Rector of the House of Proba-
tion of the said Society near

Sanct-Anna in Wien Rectorem
und Novititzen Miestern.

Geschrieben zu Goa in Indien
um das
Jahr 1706. Der Tag und Monat
seynd
nicht angemereckt worden.

Innhalt.

Betrifft seine Vorhabende Reis
von Goa biss Agra, der Haupt-
stadt in Mogor, und ferners
nach dem West-Tartarischen
Königreich Thibet.

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Chris-
to'.

P.C.

Euer Ehrwürden eifferigem
Gebett und Mess-Opfern schre-
ibe ich es zu/dass/da so viel
andere aus dem Schiff gestorben
seynd/ich/der sie in ihren
Kranckheiten fleissig bedient/
und viel Gutes zu würcken
Gelegenheit gewonnen hab
nach einer Kranckheit/so zwey
Monat gewähret/nichts desto-

Sanct-Anna, Vienna,
and Novice Master.

Written at Goa, in India,
about the
year 1706. The day and month
were
not noted.¹

Contents.

Concerning his forthcoming
journey from Goa to Agra, the
Capital in Mogor, and further
to the Kingdom of Tibet in
Western Tartary.

Reverend Father in Christ,
The Peace of Christ.

I ascribe to Your Reverence's
fervent prayer and Sacrifices
that, while so many others
died on board the ship, I, who
served them assiduously in
their illness and had the oppor-
tunity of doing much good,
did nevertheless arrive here
alive after an illness which
lasted two months.² Accord-

¹ The date of this letter should be 1709 rather than 1706. Fr. Stocklein says that the day and the month of the letter were not known to him; the year must have been omitted too; else, Fr. Stocklein would not have said that the letter was written 'about' 1706. We have several clues for the date 1709.

(1) Franco's list mentions as having left Lisbon for India in 1709: 'Fr. Francis Borgia, a German.' The party was one of 4 Portugese and three Germans, the two other Germans being 'Christophorus Mater' and 'Fr. Francis. Filiscus.' None are noted as having died on the way.

(2) Fr. Martinetti, with whom Fr. Koch was to go to Tibet, writes in 1713 that he had during three years taken information on the Tibet Mission. The three years in question would be 1709-12.

(3) Neither Martinetti nor Koch appears in the Mogor Catalogue of January, 1708; both are mentioned in the Catalogue of January 2, 1710.

(4) The Provincial Manoel Sarayva wrote to the General on January 3, 1710, that Frs. Martinetti and Koch had been charged to go to Tibet from Agra. (Wessels, 207.) Now, as Fr. Koch says that, soon after his arrival at Goa, he was destined to Agra and Tibet, his departure for Agra would naturally fall at the end of 1709, if he is the 'Fr. Francis Borgia, a German,' who arrived at Goa, (about Sept. ?), 1709. Martinetti being also a newcomer of 1709, it was natural to appoint both him and Koch for Tibet, as two others destined for Tibet in 1708 had had to be turned away to Mysore, for want of men on that side.

² Franco mentions none of the Jesuits of 1709 as having died between Lisbon and Goa; neither does Fr. Koch; but the party of 1709 may have

weniger noch lebendig allhier angelangt bin. Derenwegen seynd Euer Ehrwürden in dem Vorgeben/als könnte man seinen Eyffer auf der Reis nicht ausüben/übel berichtet worden; allermassen ich gäntzlich dafür halte/dass/wann ich auch bald nach meiner Ankunfft allhier gestorben wäre/es wegen so mancherley Wercken Christlicher Liebe mich einer dergestalt mühseligen Schiffahrt dan noch nicht reuen solte. Obbesagter mein Zustand ist vielmehr von unanständiger Nahrung/als einiger andern Ursach entsprungen/weil wir acht Wochen lang nichts als Bohnen in Oehl/Reis in Oehl/wie auch Brod in Wasser und Oehl gesotten genossen haben: allhier aber in Indien gewöhnen wir uns allein an Reis und abgeschmacktes Wasser/als wo kein kühler Trunck zu bekommen ist: ja seit ich aus Teutschland verreiset bin/darf ich wohl sagen/dass ich niemals kalt getruncken habe. Ubrigens lebt man sonst hier zu Land in unsern Collegilis zimlich gut/als in welchen an Fleisch und Wein Kein Abgang ist. (P. 84, col. 1)

Die Missionarii hingegen müssen die Seelen/so sie bekehren wollen/mit Gebett und Fasten gewinnen/angesehen die Heyden dieser Orten zwar Häuffig/aber zugleich dergestalt haessstarrig seynd/dass der abgöttische Teuffel/welcher in ihnen steckt/sich mit keinem andern Mittel lässt austreiben.

ingly, your Reverence was badly informed when you were told that one could not exercise one's zeal on the journey; anyhow, I am quite of opinion that, even had I died soon after my arrival here, I should not on account of so many works of Christian mercy regret so toilsome a voyage. My aforesaid condition was due to improper food rather than to any other cause: for during eight weeks we had nothing else to eat than beans in oil, rice in oil, and also bread boiled in water and oil. However, here in India we accustom ourselves to rice only and insipid water, since no cooler drink can be had there: indeed, from the time I left Germany I daresay I have not drunk anything cold. For the rest, here in our Colleges one lives tolerably well, as there is no lack of flesh-meat and wine. (P. 84, col. 1)

On the other hand, the Missionaries must gain with prayer and fasting the souls they wish to convert, considering that the pagans of these parts are indeed many, but at the same time so stubborn that the idolatrous devil in them does not let himself be expelled by any other means.

overtaken the party of 31 Jesuits of 1708, which did not reach Goa till Sept. 25, 1709, and lost 5 of its members on the voyage. Martinetti belonged to the party of 1708.

Dessen ungeachtet seynd deren Heyden in diesem Land Indien so viel/deren Christen hingegen so wenig/dass ich beyderseits ungleiche Zahl nicht füglich vorstellen kan/ als wann ich sage/der Kleine Hauffen deren Glaubigen/wann er mit der unendlichen Schaar/deran Unglaubigen verglichen wird gebe nicht mehr aus/als ein einziger Kern gegen zehen Metzen Getreids: doch seynd die Salsettische Inseln gantz Catholisch.

Die Provintz Goa versiehet ausserhalb der Landschaft dieses Nahmens anderwärtig dermalen folgende Missionen: die in dem Reich von der Sunda, allwo nur etliche tausend Christglaubige zu finden seynd: die in dem Reich Mayssur: die in dem Königreich Schitur: die bev denen Kaffern in Africa: und letzlichen die in dem grossen Reich Mogor, in dessen Haupt-stadt Agra würcklich drey unserige denenselben Unglaubigen das Evangelium predigen; ein wahrhafftig gar zu geringe Zahl Arbeiter für einen so volkreichen Ort/ in welchem eine Besatzung von zweimal hundert tausend Mann unterhalten/die übrige Inwohner aber Million-Weise gezehlt werden. Das Glück hälte mich bald getroffen/dass ich von meinen Obern wäre dahin geschickt worden/um all-da zu varbleiben; allein/indem ich dieses schreibe/wird mir angedeutet/ich solle auf einem Schiff/so gantz segelfertig ist/nach Surate fahren/und mich

Besides, the pagans in this land of India are so many, and the Christians on the other hand are so few that I cannot represent more suitably the uneven number on both sides than by saying that, when the small number of the faithful is compared to the countless host of the infidels, it amounts to no more than a single grain compared to ten measures of wheat; however, the islands of Salsette are entirely Catholic.

In addition to the district of the name of Goa, the Province of Goa provides now elsewhere for the following Missions: the Mission in the Kingdom of Sunda, where are to be found only some thousands of Christians; the Mission in the Kingdom of Mayssur; the Mission in the Kingdom of Schitur; the Mission among the Kaffirs in Africa; and finally the Mission in the great kingdom of Mogor, where in the capital thereof, Agra, three of ours zealously preach the Gospel to its infidels;¹ truly much too small a number of labourers for so populous a place, which has a garrison of two hundred thousand men, while the other inhabitants are counted in millions. Soon I had the good fortune of being destined by my Superiors to remain there; and however, while I write this, I am told to go to Surate by a ship which is quite ready to sail, and from there to go to Agra, there to learn the Tibetan tongue, and then

¹ The Catalogue of Mogor for January 1708 has 3 Fathers in Mogor; that of January 2, 1710, notes four, besides Martinetti and Koch.

von dannen zwar nach Agra verfügen/um daselbst die Thibetische Sprach zu erlernen/demnach aber meine Reis mit Patre Martineti, einen Wälschen Jesuiter ferners nach dem Reich Thibet fortsetzen/welches zwischen Mogol, Persien/der Kalmukischen und grossen Tartarey, und dem Ertz-Reich Sina light; weil nemlich der König von gedachtem Thibet sehnlich um Missionarios anhält/und wir in dessen Gebiet die ersten Christum verkünden werden. Ich brech ab/und eile auf das Schiff/damit ich die Gelegenheit nicht versäume; befiehle also um des Bluts Christi willen uns beyde/wie auch unsere Mission und die Heyden/welche unser warten /in Euer Ehrwürden und gesamter allerliebsten Provintz Oesterreich HH. Mess-Opfer und Andachten.

Euer Ehrwürden
Goa, Anno 1706.
Diener in Christo,
Borgias Koch, der Gesellschafft
Jesu Missionarius.

to continue my journey with Father Martineti, an Italian Jesuit, towards the Kingdom of Tibet, which lies between Mogor, Persia, Kalmuk Tartary and the Empire of China; for the king of the said Tibet eagerly asks for Missionaries, and we shall be the first to preach Christ in his dominions.¹ I stop, and hasten to the ship, lest I lose the opportunity; so, by the Blood of Christ, I commend both of us, as also our Mission, and the heathens awaiting us, to the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of Your Reverence and of the very dear Province of Austria.

Your Reverences,
Goa, 1706.²
Servant in Christ,
Borgias Koch, Missionary of
the Society
of Jesus.

27. Fr. Francis Anthony Zacharia, S.J., on Fr. H. Desideri, S.J., with letter from Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717.

(From *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* a Francisco Antonio Zacharia, Augustae Taurinorum, MDCCLII, pp. 185-186.)³

(P. 185) *Desideri (Hippolytus)*. (P. 185) *Desideri (Hippolytus)*.

XIII. Kal. Januar. A. On the 13th before the Kale-
CIOIOCL-XXXIV. ortus est da of January (Dec. 20) in the

¹ I find these indications as unsatisfactory as ever. By 1708 the Capuchins had gone to Nepal; therefore, the Jesuits could not expect to be the first Missionaries on that side. From what side, then, had a king of Tibet sent invitations for Missionaries.?

² In the hurry of the departure, it is possible that Koch forgot to date his letter.

³ As this extract, copied for us in London by Sir Edward Douglas Maclagan (188 West Hill, Putney, London, S.W. 15) reached us on

Hippolytus, tum Romae Societati Jesu nomen dedit VII. Idus Maias a. CIOIO CC sed a. CIOIOCCXII ad Thibetanas Missiones profectus est. Inde XIII. Februar. a. CIOIOCCXVII. literas scripsit, quas heic recitare non inutile visum est.

Alla fine di Luglio 1716. scrissi altra, dando nuova de' miei lunghissimi, e difficilissimi viaggi, e del mio arrivo in questa Capitale di Thibet a' 18. di Marzo del detto anno, ed insieme notizia del succedutomi quì sino a detto tempo.

A'nove d' Agosto fui mandato a chiamare al Palazzo del Re, dove ebbi lunga, e famigliare udienza per ricerca del fine, per cui ero venuto, e dimoravo in questo Thibet; risposi, che unicamente per inseguare la S. Fede. Io fui interrogato, quanto tempo quì mi tratterrei risposi, che fino alla morte, se essi volessero abbracciare la S. Fede; la risposta fu, che volevano essere in tutto

year 1684, was born Hippolytus, who gave his name to the Society of Jesus at Rome on the 7th before the Ides of May (May 9) in the year 1700, and left for the Tibetan Missions in 1712. From there he wrote on the 13th of February, 1717, a letter which we think it useful to quote here.

At the end of July 1716, I wrote another letter,¹ giving news of my very long and very difficult journeyings, and of my arrival in this capital of Tibet on the 18th March of the said year,² and at the same time an account of what happened to me here up to the said date.

On the 9th of August,³ I was summoned to the King's Palace, where I had a long and familiar audience, at which they asked me for what object I had come and was staying in this Tibet. I answered that it was solely to teach them the Holy Faith. I was asked how long I would stay here. I answered I would stay until my death, if they wished to embrace the Holy Faith.

December 2, 1929, we have placed it here, so as not to disturb what we wrote above. Desideri's letter enclosed in the extract, and dated February 13, 1717, is evidently from Lhasa. The name of the addressee is not given. The letter may have been written to a Jesuit or to a person of Desideri's family. There is a request to be remembered in the addressee's prayers, but no reference to 'Holy Sacrifices'. It is evidently not addressed to the Pope, though he wrote a letter to the Pope on the same date. The letter must be compared with the one he wrote to the General of the Society two days later. It was but natural that he should dwell on the same topics in both. It is worth remarking that there is no direct allusion to the arrival and doings of the Capuchins.

¹ This letter too remains to be discovered. In his letter of Lhasa to the General, Febr. 15, 1717, Desideri begins by saying that he wrote to the General at the end of July, 1716, by way of Goa and Portugal. We do not possess that letter to the General, and it is possible that this courier did not reach.

² The same date in other letters.

³ The same date in the letter to the General (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717).

istruiti della mia S. Fede, e Legge, e che perciò restassi quivi, ed imparassi bene la lingua. Dipoi mi furono fatte molte, ed efficacissime esibizioni, ed oferte dalla regia liberalità, ma io tutto efficacemente ributtai, non volendo altr' onore, che la gloria di Dio, nè altro bene, che la salute dell' anime loro. Al principio di Settembre fui invitato, e condotto ad un Giardino, e Palazzo in Campagna del Re, dove fui esaminato del profitto fatto nella lingua specialmente, nell' intelligenza de' libri, e mi furono domandate varie cose della mia S. Legge. Al principio di novembre essendo già arrivata una lettera latina del Papa a questo Re, io la tradussi in questa lingua. Essendo stato alcune volte richiesto, e privatamente, e pubblicamente della differenza tra la mia, e la loro legge, nè arrischiandomi a trattare *ex professo* a voce sì delicati punti sino a non possedere perfettamente questa lingua, aveva promesso di spiegare loro tutto a poco a poco con alcuni libri: a tal fine ne misi di Giugno, Luglio, ed Agosto composi due libri; il primo in confutazione del pessimo, e tanto sparso errore, che dice potersi ognuno salvare nella sua legge, ed il secondo in confutazione del diabolico er-

Their answer was that they wished to be fully instructed in my Holy Faith and Law, and that accordingly I should stay there and study the language well. After that, many and very strong offers and invitations came to me from the King's liberality, but I strongly declined it all, not wishing any other honour than the glory of God, and no other good than the salvation of their souls. In the beginning of September,¹ I was invited and conducted to a Garden and Palace of the King outside the town, where I was examined on the progress I had made in the language, especially in the understanding of the books, and I was asked various things about my Holy Law. In the beginning of November, as there had already arrived a Latin letter from the Pope for this King, I translated it into this language.² Having been asked sometimes, both privately and publicly, the difference between my law and theirs, and not wishing to venture on treating *ex professo* and orally points so delicate, until I possessed this language perfectly, I had promised to explain the whole to them little by little in certain books: with this object, during the months of June, July and August,³ I composed two

¹ The same date, *ibid.*

² The Capuchins arrived at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716, and, though part of their presents for the King was lost, the letter from the Pope and some money arrived, apparently somewhat after the arrival of the Capuchin Fathers. The letter of the Pope was presented to the King on Dec. 4, 1716. Cf. Letter to the General, Febr. 15, 1717 (p. 375 in Puini).

³ The same period of time in the letter to the General, Febr. 15, 1717.

rore del trasmutazione Pitagorica. Agli otto di Settembre cominciai da me stesso a tradurre in questa lingua, e in versi Thibettani il primo di detti due libri, e dopo averlo posto bene all' ordine, a' 6. di Gennajo 1717. dopo detta, ed applicata a questa fine la S. Messa, andai a palazzo del Re, dove fui ammesso nella Real Sala dell' udienza, ove stava il Re nel suo trovo circondato da un molto copioso consesso di Grandi, e persone della corte, e di Lammâ, che sono i loro Religiosi e Dottori. Il Re ricevè il mio regalo, e prese nelle sue mani il mio libro, e mi fece sedere in faccia al suo trono, e mi fece bere il Cià. Dipoi con le sue sciolse, e aprì il mio libro, e mi domando, quanto tempo ancora resterei in questo (p. 186) Thibet. Risposi, che fino alla mia morte, il che cagionò molta tenerezza in tutto il consesso; indi mi domandò, qual fosse il mio Dio. Risposi, che io non riconosco, nè adoro, se non un solo Dio creatore del tutto, Mi domandò, quanti Dei vi siano, Risposi che un solo, unico nell' essenza, e trino nelle persone. Mi domandò i nomi delle tre divine persone, e presa occasione del nome del Spirito Santo, essendo egli di gran mente, e di molto capace ingegno, da se stesso si pose a farmi varj argomenti contro la purissima spiritualità, ed incorporità di Dio, e udì le mie risposte a detti argomenti, e come essen-

books: the first in refutation of the very bad and so widely spread error which says that everyone can be saved in his law; and the second, in refutation of the devilish error of the Pythagoric transmutation. On the 8th of September¹ I began by myself to translate in this language and in Tibetan verses the first of the said two books; and, when I had put it in good order, on the 6th of January, 1717, having said and applied Holy Mass to this end, I went to the King's Palace,² where I was admitted into the Royal Hall of audience, where the King was on his throne, surrounded by a very great assembly of Grandees, and persons of the court, and Lammâs, who are their Religious and Doctors. The King received my present, took my book into his hands, bade me sit in front of his throne, and made me drink the Cià. Then with his own hands he untied and opened my book, and asked me how much longer I would remain in this (p. 186) Tibet. I answered I would remain until my death, which caused much emotion in the whole assembly. Next, he asked me what my God was like. I answered that I acknowledge and worship only one sole God, creator of all things. He asked me how many Gods there are. I answered: Only one, sole in essence, and trine in persons. He asked me the names of the three divine persons, and, taking occasion

¹ The same date, *ibid.*

² The three Capuchins went with him on that occasion.

do Iddio di sua natura incorporeo, per amore, e salute nostra, si era fatto uomo. Dipoi da se stesso lesse tutta la dedicatoria del Libro, che è un elogio del Re medesimo in versi Thibettani, poichè ad esso è dedicato il libro. Indiancorchè già sapesse il tutto, come stesse la cosa, per farmi quest' onore appresso gl' altri, mi domandò, chi avesse composto, e posto in questa lingua quel libro; risposi, che io stesso senz' aiuto di verun uomo. In oltre mi domando, chi l'avesse posto in versi Thibettani, risposi, che io solo da me medesimo. Dopo di ciò lesse un buon pezzo del primo capitolo, e di poi diede il libro in mano di uno di detti Dottori, che fra tutto il consesso era il più vicino al Re, e dal medesimo dottore il fece leggere. Di poi da se stesso si pose a farmi argomenti in difesa della transmigratione, e a ciascheduno argomento udì le mie risposte, dopo le quali continuò a farsi a leggere il libro da detto Dottore, ed in quel mentre arrivato il mezzo giorno, fu licenziata l' udienza, senza che il Re in tanto tempo avesse udito altri, nè parlato ad altri. Pochi giorni dopo mi mandò ad interrogare a casa molto per minuto sopra quel punto, che la via, o legge della salute è una sola, e tutte le altre sono d'eterna dannazione. Il Re tiene appresso di se e va leggendo il libro, e facendone conferenze. Faccia Iddio, nelle cui mani sta l'esito, ed al quale tocca a parlare al cuore. Varie altre

of the name of the Holy Ghost, he, being a man of great intelligence, and very penetrating mind, began of himself to make various arguments against the pure spirituality and incorporeity of God, and listened to my answers to the said arguments, and how God, being of his nature incorporeal, had become Man for our sake and salvation. Next, by himself he read the whole dedication of the Book, which is a eulogy of the King himself in Tibetan verses: for the Book is dedicated to him. Then, though he knew quite well how things were, in order to give me that honour before the others, he asked me who had composed that book and put it into that language. I answered I had done it myself, without help from anyone. Moreover, he asked me who had put it into Tibetan verse. I answered I had done it by myself alone. After that, he read a good portion of the first chapter, and then gave the book to one of the said Doctors, who of all the assembly was nearest to the King, and he made the said Doctor read. Next, by himself he began using against me arguments in defence of transmigration, and he listened to my answers to each argument; after which he continued to make the said Doctor read the book. Meanwhile, midday came, and the audience was dismissed, and during all that time the King had not heard any others, nor spoken to any others. Some days after, he sent to my house to question

volte con varie persone ho ayute private dispute di sì fatti punti di Religione. Da un mese in quà sono stato un poco travagliato nella sanità, a causa delle passate, fatiche. Quanto prima ripiglierò lo studio, e le fatiche, che è quanto posso per ora dar di nuovo.

Non si scordino giammai di pregare per me nelle loro orazioni, *ne forte cum aliis prae-dicaverim, ipse reprobis efficiar*, e acciocche i miei peccati non pongano impedimento alla conversione di queste genti, e caramente abbracciandola, resto pregando Iddio a darci grazia di rivederci in Paradiso, Amen.

Neque hos solum libros scripsit P. Hippolytus quorum in superioribus libris¹ mentio. Nam in latinam linguam (quod sane Missionariis ad dignoscendos illius gentis errores usui maximo esse potest) convertit Tibettanarum *Sahorim*, seu *Kangiur* qui Bibliorum instar ipsis est in centum et octo

me very minutely on the point whether there is but one way and law of salvation, and all the others are of eternal damnation. The King keeps the book near him, and he goes on reading it and having discussions about it. May God, in whose hands is the issue, and to whom it belongs to speak to the heart, (grant success). Several other times I have had private discussions with various persons on such points of Religion. This last month I have been a little troubled in health, owing to the past fatigues. As soon as possible I shall resume my study and my labours, which is all the news I can give for the present.

Never forget to pray for me in your prayers, *ne forte cum aliis praedicaverim, ipse reprobis efficiar* (lest perhaps, when I have preached to others, I myself should become a castaway),¹ and that my sins may not place an obstacle in the way of the conversion of these peoples; and, embracing you lovingly, I remain praying that God give us the grace of meeting each other in Paradise. Amen.

The books mentioned in the above letter are not the only ones written by Fr. Hippolytus: for he translated into Latin (which can be of the greatest use to Missionaries for learning the errors of that nation) a compendium of the *Sahorim* or *Kangiur* of the Tibetans, a collection of one

¹ Literis ?

¹ 1 Cor., 9. 27.

grandia volumina tributi compendium a Zonkabà quodam magna apud eos sanditatis fama percelebri elucubratum. Alia etiam parabat, quum a Thibetanis regionibus in Italiam remeandum fuit P. Hippolyto A. CIOIOCCXXVII. Romae autem pro suis Missionibus adversus P.P. Capuccinerum postulata tres non uno temp ore libellos Edidit, obtulitque Sacrae Congregationi *de propaganda fide*. Quod tamen optabat maxime, ut Thibetanum in Regnum rediret, obtinere non potuit, morte intercedente, quae illum ex Collegio Romano ad Superos evocavit XVIII Kal. Majas a. CIOIOCCXXXIII.

hundred and eight large volumes, which is like their Bible, the compendium having been written by a certain Zonkabà, who is held by them in very great opinion of holiness. Fr. Hippolytus was also preparing other things when in the year 1727 he had to return from Tibet to Italy. At different times, while at Rome, he published for his Missions and laid before the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* three small books written against the postulata of the Capuchin Fathers. He could not obtain what he desired most, to return to the Kingdom of Tibet: for death supervened, which from the Roman College called him to Heaven on the 18th before to the Kalends of May (April 14) of the year 1733.¹

28. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to His Holiness the Pope, Clement XI.

(Lhasa, February 13, 1717.)

(P. 1) *Copia*. B'mo Padre.
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Quella somma benignità degna veram.te d'yn Vic.o di Dio in Terra, che ebbi la sorte di sperimentare, allorche prima di partir di Roma per le Missioni, ebbi la pregiatissima sorte di prostrarmi vmile, e riuerente à Piedi della Stà sua, mi dà adesso animo di pormi di nuouo, se non in persona,

(P. 1) *Copy*. Most Blessed Father,² 517

That extreme kindness, truly worthy of a Vicar of God on earth, of which I had the good fortune to be the object, when, before leaving Rome for the Missions, I had the most esteemed fortune of prostrating myself humbly and reverently at the Feet of Your Holiness, encourages me now to place

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Filippo de Filippi (La Capponcina, Settignano, Florence) for the rotographs of this document which Mgr. Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library, ordered to be made at his request. The document must be carefully compared with Desideri's letter to the General of the Society of Jesus (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717). Cf. our No. 9.

almeno con q'sto mio foglio, riuente, e supplicheuole à med. mi ueneratissimi Piedi di sua Stà. Doppo d'esser passato il Tibette piccolo, in cui l'empia seta di Maometto chiude ogni porta all' industrie de Missionari Euangelici; e doppo d'hauer fatto qualche diligenza nell' altro 2.0 Tibette, in cui à cagione della dipendenza, non pare si possa per adesso impiegar con frutto l'industria de Zelanti Missionari; A 7. di Settembre 1715. col fauor di Dio entrai in questo 3.0, e principal Tibette. Indi à 18. di Marzo 1716. arruinai a q'sta Citta di Lhassa, Capitale, e Regia di q'sto Tibette. Qui mi fermai, e benche solo, senza verun Religioso, nè d'altra Religione, nè della Compagnia, non dimeno animato da vn viuissimo desiderio della gloria di Dio, e dell' amoreuolissimo Gesù Salvatore di tutto il Mondo; con ogni sforzo mi posi all' ardua impresa di trattare de negozi della S. a Fede. Per tal fine giorno, e notto mi applicauo allo studio trauagliosissimo di q'sta lingua; p. tal fine mi posi di tutto proposito à leggere, e scrutinare con ogni studio i libri principali di questa setta: per tal fine da varie perite persone andauo indagando meglio l'origini, i Riti, et opinioni di q'sta setta: per tal fine andauo con varie industrie e spese ancora introducendomi con varie persone, e già m'ero insinuato in vna considerabilissima amicizia nella Corte, anzi m'ero insinuato col Re medesimo, fino à sperimentarne finissimamente di-

myself again reverently and suppliantly, if not in person, at least with this paper of mine, at the same most venerated Feet of Your Holiness. Having traversed Little Tibet, where the impious sect of Maomet closes every door to the efforts of Evangelical Missionaries, and having made some diligence in the other second Tibet, where owing to dependency it does not seem that the industry of zealous Missionaries can for the moment fruitfully employ itself, with the help of God I entered this third and chief Tibet on the 7th of September, 1715. Next, on the 18th of March, 1716, I arrived at this City of Lhassa, the Capital and Royal Court of this Tibet. Here I stayed, and, though alone, without a single Religious, either of another Religion, or of the Company, yet, animated by a most lively desire of the glory of God and of the most lovable Jesus, Saviour of the whole World, I began with all ardour the arduous task of dealing with matters of the Holy Faith. For the purpose, day and night, I applied myself to the very laborious study of this language; for that purpose, I started whole-heartedly reading and examining with all zeal the chief books of this sect; for that purpose, I kept seeking out better from various able persons the origins, Rites, and tenets of this sect; for that purpose, with various industries and with expenses too, I became introduced to various persons, and I had already

mostraz.ni; per tal fine e non dimandato, e dimandato da priuati, e interrogato da Grandi, e interrogato solennem.te per parte del Rè, haueuo chiaramente manifestato, e publicato, che il mio intento era d'insegnar in q'sto Regno la S.a Fede; per tal fine interrogato yna volta solennem.te p' parte del Rè, e vn altra volta solenissim.te, e con gran publicità dal Rè med.mo, posta la mia risoluzione d'insegnar in q'sto Regno la S.a Fede, quanti anni mi tratterei in q'sto Regno; mi dichiarai, e assolutam.te mi protestai, che se Essi abbracciassero la S. a Fede, resterei qui sino alla morte, e auendomi risposto, che voleuano esser in tutto ben informati della S.a Fede, e che per ciò assolutam.te quì rimanessi; Promisi più volte di restar quì sino alla Morte; p' tal fine, acciòche l' intento di promouer, e di piantar qui la S.a Fede, più facilment.te s'insinuasse in queste Anime, aueuo costantem.te ributtate le molte, liberalissime, e anche importune offerte (p. 2) di questo Rè, efficacem.te protestandomi, non voler Io ne i loro onori, nè loro grandezze, nè loro ricchezze, mà vnicam.te la Gloria di Dio, e la loro eterna salute. Vltim.te per tal fine auendomi Essi varie uolte ricercato della differenza trà la Nostra, e la loro Legge e perchè in punti sì delicati, doue ogni minima parola è vn gran che, *a sic* non mi arrischiauo ancora à spiegar *ex professo*, in publico à voce;

insinuated myself considerably into the friendship of the Court, and had even reached the King himself, so much so that I received from him most delicate attentions; for that purpose, when not questioned or questioned by private persons, when requested by Grandees and interrogated solemnly in the King's name, I had clearly made known and declared that it was my intention to teach the Holy Faith in this Kingdom; for that purpose, when asked once solemnly in the King's name,¹ and another time most solemnly and with great publicity by the King himself, given my resolution to teach the Holy Faith in this Kingdom, how many years I would spend in this Kingdom, I declared and protested absolutely that, should they embrace the Holy Faith, I would stay on until my Death, whereupon, as they answered that they wished to be well informed of the Holy Faith, and that therefore I should remain here altogether, I promised many times to remain up to my Death; for that purpose, in order that my design of promoting and planting here the Holy Faith might the more easily find favour with these Souls, I had constantly refused the many very liberal and even importunate offers (P. 2) of this King, strongly protesting that I wanted neither their honours, nor their greatnesses, nor their riches, but only the Glory of

¹ At the meeting with the Tartar, the principal Minister of the King, on Aug. 9, 1716.

m'ero obligato à spigar loro tutto à poco à poco con vari libri: E *ex vi* di ciò aueuo qui composto due libri, nel p.mo de quali confuto l'errore, che ogn'vno nella sua Legge si può saluare, mostrando, che vna sola è la via della salute, e tutte l'altre sono vie d'eterna dannazione; e nel 2.o confuto il diabolico errore della Trasmigrazione; e questo in due Trattati; il p.mo contro la Trasmigrazione de cattiu; il 2. o contro la Trasmigraz.ne de Buoni. E già haueuo da me stesso tradotto nella lingua, e per più allettatiuo ancora in versi Thibettani, sino alla meta il p.mo di detti due Libri, il quale di poi finito, hò già con molta solennità, e pubblicità offerto al Rè, il quale ne hà fatte publiche dimostraz. i di stima, lo tiene appresso di se, e lo và leggendo, e in quel giorno publicamte da se stesso mi fece argom.ti, e vdi le mie risposte sopra due questioni, cioe, p.mo sopra la purissima immaterialità, e incorporeità di Dio; presa l'occasione del nome dello Spirito Santo. 2.o sopra la Trasmigraz.ne dell' Anime, e alcuni giorni doppo mi mandò à interrogare per minuto sopra quel punto, che fuori d'vna sola Legge, tutte l'altre sono d'eterna dannazione. Le cose per aiuto, e misericordia di Dio cosi correuano; quando al p.mo di Ottobre 1716. arriuarono trè PP.

God and their eternal salvation. Lastly, for that purpose, when they had asked me many times what difference there was between our Law and theirs, I, considering that in points so delicately, the smallest word is a great one, (said) I did not yet venture to explain it *ex professo*, in public, by word of mouth, but I pledged myself to explain it to them little by little in different books. And, on the strength of this, I had here composed two books, in the first of which I refuted the error that everyone can be saved in his Law, showing that the way of our salvation is but one, and that all the other ways lead to eternal damnation; and, in the second, I refuted the devilish error of Transmigration, and this in two Treatises, the former being against the Transmigration of the wicked, the second against the Transmigration of the Good.¹ And I had already translated by myself in this language, even in Tibetan verse, as a greater enticement, up to the middle, the former of the said two Books;² which, when it was completed, I have by now offered to the King with much solemnity and publicity.³ The King showed in public that he esteemed it; he keeps it near him, and continues reading it. And, on that day, of himself he argued with me publicly, and heard my answers

¹ The letter to the General (Febr. 15, 1717), does not mention the treatise on the transmigration of the wicked.

² He began the translation of his first treatise on Sept. 8, 1716; he may therefore have reached the middle of the translation of that treatise by Oct. 1, when the three Capuchins arrived.

³ The first treatise was presented to the King on January 6, 1717.

Capuccini Missionari Ap'lici, con vn Decreto, in cui à tutti, *etiam Patribus Societ.tis Jesu*, non ostante qualunque priuilegio in contrario dalla S. Sede conceduto, sotto Ecclesiastiche pene è proibito l'esercitare qualsiuoglia azzione di Missionario in Luoghi, doue siano già Missionari mandati dalla S.a Cong.ne di Propaganda. Non ostante tal Decreto, attese tutte le soprascritte premesse, guidicai non poter Io senza peccato mortale e senza vn grandiss.o aggrauio della mia coscienza, lasciar questa Missione. In oltre giudicai, che il Decreto non cadesse sopra di me, ne potesse essere intimato à me, poiche in Esso si proibisce il por doue già stiano Missionari di Propaganda; ed Io ero entrato in questo Regno, e stauo attualm.te esercitandomi in questa Missione (p. 3) vn Anno, e 24, giorni p.ma che quà arriuassero i soprad.i trè PP. Capuccini. Con che par manifesto, che chi arriua in q'sta Missione al p.mo di Ottobre del 1716., non possa intimare vn tal Decreto e tali pene Ecclesiastiche à chi antecedentem.te fino da 7.di Settembre del 1715. si trouaua già attualm.te in questa Missione, e in essa con sì considerabili, e publici impegni. Tutto ciò propongo, e riuertem.te ripongo nelle Mani della Stà sua, vmilm.te chiedendo i suoi comandi, i quali tutti,

on two questions: to wit, first on the pure immateriality and incorporeity of God, the name of the Holy Ghost having offered the occasion; secondly on the Transmigration of Souls. And, some days later, he sent to question me minutely on this point, whether besides one sole Law, all the others lead to eternal damnation. With the help and mercy of God, things were progressing thus, when on the first of October, 1716, there arrived three Capuchin Fathers,¹ Apostolic Missionaries, with a Decree, wherein to all, even to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, notwithstanding any privilege to the contrary granted by the Holy See, it is forbidden under Ecclesiastical penalties to exercise any action as a Missionary in Places where be already Missionaries sent by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda.² Notwithstanding such a Decree, all the above-written premises considered, I judged that I could not without mortal sin and without a very heavy burden on my conscience, leave this Mission. Moreover, I judged that the Decree did not apply to me, and that it could not have been intimated to me, because in it is forbidden to enter where be Missionaries of Propaganda; and I had entered this Kingdom and was actually labouring in this Mission (P. 3) one Year and 24 days before the above-

¹ Frs. Domenico da Fano, Prefect; Orazio della Penna, and John Francis of Fossombrone.

² The letter to the General (Febr. 15, 1717) says that the Capuchins had not formally served that Decree on Desideri.

anche à costo della mia vita, sempre puntualm.te eseguirò. Non per q'sto però, che dico esser Io antecedentem.te entrato in q'sto Regno, pretendo in ciò dimandare, che siano essi richiamati, anzi con ogni efficacia supplico, che siano qui lasciati, sapendo, che doue manca la fiachezza mia, e della Comp.a, con gran vantaggio supplirà il talento, lo spirito, e lo zelo di si degni, e si bene scelti Apostolici Missionari; trà quali, e Me, è corsa, e corre in tutto vna totale, e più che fraterna concordia, e amoreuolezza, tanto in casa, che è vna med.ma, quanto in publico; molto perciò desiderando, e supplicando, che i med'mi P.ri rice-uano le douute lodi, e ringraziam.to di si esemplar carità verso di me, e si profitteuole concordia in tutte le cose. Ad istanzia de med.mi PP. tradussi fedelm.te in questa lingua la Lettera, con cui la Santità sua onorò q'sto Rè, che sommam.te hà gradito, et apprezzato si alto onore. Seruo ancora i med.mi PP. con insegnar loro, per quanto mi permette la mia debolezza, q'sta lingua, e con andar à poco à poco, à loro requisizione, ordinando con diligenza vna Dottrina, vna Grammatica, e vn Dizzionario di q'sta lingua. Seruo ancora loro con aiutarli dalla metà di Ottobre sino al fine, ò più di q'sto Mese, ogni giorno à sodisfare à loro obblighi di Messe. In somma procuro di non mancare in niente verso si degni Missionari della S.a Sede, e verso con me si caritateuoli Religiosi. Non vna Lettera, mà vn grosso

said three Capuchin Fathers arrived here. Therewith it seems plain that who arrived here in this Mission on the first of October 1716 may not intimate such a Decree and such Ecclesiastical penalties to who previously, from the 7th of September, 1715, was already actually in this Mission, and that too under such weighty and public obligations. All this I propose and lay reverently in the Hands of Your Holiness, humbly asking your orders, all of which, even at the cost of my life, I shall always punctually execute. But, on the score of what I say, that is my having entered this Kingdom earlier, I do not on that account request that they be recalled; nay, with all efficacy I beg that they be left here, knowing that where my weakness fails, and that of the Company, the talent, the fervour and zeal of such worthy and such select Apostolic Missionaries will supply; between whom and me there has existed and exists in everything a perfect and more than fraternal concord and affection, as well in the house, which is the same, as in public; wherefore, I greatly desire and beg that the same Fathers may receive due praise and thanks for such exemplary charity towards me, and such profitable concord in all things. At the request of the same Fathers I translated faithfully into this language the Letter with which Your Holiness honoured this King; he was extremely pleased therewith and extremely valued so great an

volume sarebbe necessario, se volessi fondatam.te, e veram.te ragguagliare sua Stà di tutto ciò, che appartiene à notizie di q'sto Regno, e alla Seta di queste Genti; perciò lasciando di porre in ciò la penna, rimetto vna tal cosa alla lingua di chi auerà la sorte di porre (p. 4) in persona riuerente la bocca à Piedi di sua Stà. E prostrato con la bocca, e col cuore al bacio de veneratissimi Piedi della Stà sua, vmilm.te dimando la sua Paterna, et Ap'lica Benedizione, et Indulgenza.

Della Santità Sua.

Lhassa 13. di Feb.ro del
1717.

Minimo, e Riuerentiss.mo
Figlio, seruo, e suddito

Ippolito Desideri,
della Comp.a di Gesù.

honour. I also serve the same Fathers by teaching them, as much as my weakness allows, this language, and by arranging diligently little by little, at their request, a Doctrine, a Grammar and a Dictionary for this language.¹ I also serve them by helping them daily from the middle of the month of October till the end, or more than this Month, in satisfying their obligations for Masses. In fine, I try not to fail in anything towards such worthy Missionaries of the Holy See, and Religious so charitable to me.² Not one Letter, but a big volume would be necessary, if I wished fully and truly to report to Your Holiness whatever concerns information regarding this Kingdom and the Sect of these Peoples; wherefore, without turning my pen to such work, I commit such a matter to the tongue of him who will have the good luck of (P. 4) personally kissing with reverence Your Holiness' Feet. And, prostrate to kiss with mouth and heart the most revered Feet of Your Holiness, I humbly ask Your Paternal and Apostolic Blessing and Indulgence.

Of Your Holiness.

Lhassa, the 13th of February
1717.

The Least and Most Re-
verent Son, servant and subject,

Ippolito Desideri, of the
Company of Jesus.

¹ From the letter to the General (Febr. 15, 1717) we could not conclude that this triple work was already begun.

² In this letter, Desideri, considering himself in the right, deprecates the recalling of the Capuchins. In his letter to the General (Febr. 15,

29. The case of Fr. Ippolito Desideri as represented to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda by Fr. Felice da Montecchio, Capuchin, in *Summario A* (1728).

Through the kindness of Dr. Filippo de Filippi, we obtained from Mgr. Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library, rotographs of *Sommario A*, which places before the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda the case of Fr. Desideri from the Capuchin point of view. It is like a preliminary document, which drew answers from Fr. Desideri and counter-answers from the Capuchins. The case was examined by Propaganda between 1728 and 1732, when it was decided against the Jesuits.

The *Sommario A* is a printed document, of 7 pages, of which only a few copies were printed. The rotographs do not show any pagination; in fact the pages have had to be paginated by the photographer. In parts the lines are numbered. We indicate this numbering wherever we find it.

We subjoin a translation of the whole of this rare publication.

(P. 7)

Alla Sagra
CONGREGATIONE
De Propaganda Fide
Eſmo, e Rmo Sig. Card.

NICOLO SPINOLA
PONENTE

*Risposta alla Petitione del R.P.
Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia
della Compagnia di Gesù
per la Causa del Thibet.*

C O N T R O
E P E R

F. Felice da Montecchio
Cappuccino

Sommario A.

Typis Giannini, and Mainardi
1728.

(P. 7)

To the Sacred
CONGREGATION
Of the Propagation of the Faith.
The Most Emin. and Most
Rev. Lord Card.-

NICOLO' SPINOLA
PONENT

*Answer to the Petition of the
Rev. Fr. Ippolito Desideri
of Pistoia, of the Company of
Jesus, for the Cause of
Tibet.*

A G A I N S T
A N D F O R

Friar Felice of Montecchio,
Capuchin.

Summary A.

Printed by Giannini, and
Mainardi 1728.

1717), he is not without fear that the Capuchins will urge his recall. They must have done so already from Nepal, before advancing on Tibet. The first decisions against Desideri were taken at Rome on March 1, 1717, Sept. 20, 1717, and Dec. 12, 1718.

20. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Felix da Montecchio (Patna, March 19, 1722) and his Appeal to the Pope addressed to Frs. Dominic da Fano and Felix da Montecchio (Patna, March 19, 1717).

(P. 1.)

A

(P. 1.)

SOMMARIO.

I.

Copia di vna Lettera scritta al P. Felice da Montecchio/ dal Padre Ippolito Desiderij da Pistoia della Compagnia di Gesù.

Molto Reuerendo Padre Colendissimo—Pattnà
 Lettera del P. Hippolito Desiderij al P. Felice da Montecchio.
 19. Marzo 1722.
 —Dice il Prouerbio—Patti chiari and amicizia lunga. Con che il parlar chiaro non pregiudica alla buona amicizia. Non ascriua dunque la P.V.M.R. à rottura d'Amicizia se lo con tutta chiarezza/[5] le manifesto alcun mio sentimento. Attribuisca à sgrauio della mia coscienza ciò, che à prezzo del proprio sangue non vorebbe esser stata posta nell' impegno in cui si troua.

2. M.R.P. Mi costa chiaramente, che non

Euidenze in generale, ma non indicate. Primo-non esser stato necessario metter la Compagnia in impegno. Secondo-Ricorsi v'era occasione/[10] di porre in compromesso la Compagnia di Gesù in quel modo, che v'è stata posta.

SUMMARY A.

I.

Copy of a Letter written to Fr. Felice da Montecchio¹ by Father Ippolito Desiderij of Pistoia of the Company of Jesus.

Very Reverend and Most Venerable Father, Pattnà, the 19th of March, 1722.

The Proverb says: Short reckonings make long friends. Wherefore, speaking clearly does not damage good friendship.

Let not Your Very Reverend Paternity think that our Friendship is broken, because with all clearness I manifest to you a sentiment of mine. Attribute it to the discharge of my conscience: for, not at the price of my own blood, would my conscience have wished to be placed in the obligation in which it finds itself.

2. Very Reverend Father, it appears to me

clearly that there was no occasion for compromising the Society of Jesus in the manner in which she has been compromised. I

¹ On December 14, 1721, Fr. Desideri left from Kuti for Khatmandu with Fr. Felix da Montecchio, who in 1721 had gone (from Patna) to Lhasa. Desideri arrived at Patna on February 6, 1722, and left it for Agra on March 23, 1722. It would have been natural if, at Patna, he had been the guest of the Capuchin Fathers. The Superior there would have been the ex-Prefect, Fr. Felix da Montecchio.

essere illegittimi.

Terzo-~~c~~ ~~o~~ ~~n~~ ~~t~~ ~~r~~ ~~o~~
ogni ragione, e verità in tutto il corpo della Lettera solamente qui si nomina la Sacra Congregazione.

L'espulzione del P. Hippolito, e della Compagniam dal Thibet diretto impedimento della promulgazione del Vangelo, e Popoli non convertiti.

Conosco evidentemente, che le Informazioni, e reclamazioni mandate in Roma non sono state legittime. Mi costa apertamente, ch'è stato contro ragione, e contro la verità il procurare con non intie-/ [15] ri raggiugli alla Compagnia di Gesù quel da essa non meritato sfreggio, che in faccia á tutto il Mundo alla medesima riddonda da quelle parole—Immo contra Decreta eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis. In fine mi costa evidentemente, che lo sforzo vsato in discacciare me, e la Comp-/ [20] gnia di Gesù dà Regni, e Missioni del Thibet è stato vn sforzo direttamente impeditiuo della Conuersione di molte genti, e direttamente opposto alla propagazione della S. Fede Cattolica. Coll' evidente, e sperimentale cognizione di tale incontrastabile verità, incontrastabilmen-/ [25] te mi giudico grauissimamente obbligato in Coscienza di reclamare, di protestare, e d'appellare in tal causa al supremo, ed immediato formalissimo Tribunale del Sommo Pontefice. Di tal mio appello (che in questo mio foglio aggiungo) ne porto notizia alla P.S.M.R., accioche/ [30] ella possa auere quella commodità di dire presso il detto supremo Tribunale le sue ragioni, la quale non hò auuta io appresso qualche altro Tribunale, nell' agimento della prima causa. Quando la P.V.M.R. potrà apportarmi.

know to evidence that the Informations and claims sent to Rome have not been legitimate. It appears to me clearly that, against reason and against truth, through incomplete accounts, was obtained for the Society of Jesus that slap, by her unmerited, which she received before the whole World from these words—Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred Congregation. Finally, it appears to me to evidence that the effort made in expelling me and the Company of Jesus from the Kingdom and Missions of Tibet has been an effort directly tending to impede the Conversion of many peoples, and directly opposed to the propagation of the Holy Catholic Faith. With the evident and experimental knowledge of such uncontrovertible truth, I judge irrefragably that I am most seriously obliged in Conscience to complain, to protest, and to appeal in such cause to the supreme and immediate most formal Tribunal of the Sovereign Pontiff. Of this my appeal (which I add to this paper I notify Your Very Reverend Pater-

Secondly: that the recourses were unlawful.

Thirdly: (that they were) against all reason and truth.

In the whole body of the Letter, the Sacred Congregation is named only here.

The expulsion of Fr. Hippolytus and of the Company from Tibet a direct obstacle to the promulgation of the Gospel, and a reason for the non-conversion of Peoples.

nity, so that you may have, for stating your reasons before the said supreme Tribunal, that convenience which I have not had before any other Tribunal, in the discussion of the first cause.

(P. 2) Raggioni convincenti, che mi mostrino non essere io ob-[35]bligato grauemente in Coscienza a tali riclami, ed appelli, sarro subito pronto à desister da essi.

Quando poi ella conosca in me vn tal obbligo, la supplico a non auer per male, che Io persista nell' intrapreso appello, e vada à dire à voce (se Iddio così vorrà) le mie ragioni appresso il [40] Sommo Pontefice; e con bagiarle diuotamente le sacremani, mi dico e soscruiro qual mi glorio d'essere della P. V. M. R. Vmilissimo, ed Obligatissimo, e Deuotissimo Seruitore. Ippolito Desiderij della Compagnia di Gesù.

(P. 2) When Your Very Reverend Paternity will be able to give me convincing reasons, which show to me that I am not seriously obliged in Conscience to make such complaints and appeals, I shall at once be ready to desist therefrom. But, as you know in me such an obligation, I beg of you not to take it amiss if I persist in the appeal I have undertaken, and if I go (God so willing) to state by word of mouth my reason before the Sovereign Pontiff. And, kissing devoutly your sacred hands, I call and sign myself what I pride myself to be,

Your Very Reverend Paternity's Most Humble, Most Obligated, and Most Devoted Servant.

Ippolito Desiderij, of the Company of Jesus.

Copia della Citazione.

In Nomine Domini.
Amen.

Ego Hippolitus Desiderij Societatis Iesu Sacerdos, and olim in [45] Missionem Thibettensem ex parte Tibi Admodum Reuerendo Patri Dominico à Fano Societatis Iesu superior,

Capuccino, and ex parte Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Praefecto; nec non Tibi Admodum Reuerendo P. Felici à Montecchio Predicatori Ca-

Copy of Summons.

In the Name of the Lord,
Amen.

I, Hippolytus Desiderij, Priest of the Society of Jesus, and in the name of the Society of Jesus former Superior in the Tibet Mission make known to you, Very Reverend

Father Dominic da Fano, Capuchin, and in the name of the sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide Prefect,¹ as also to You, Very Reverend Father Felix

¹ Fr. Dominic da Fano was then in Tibet.

puccino Missio- [50] nario Apostolico, and ex Præfecto notum facio: Me vt obbedirem Eminentissimis, and Reuerendissimis DD. Cardinalibus Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide discessisse jam à Regnis Thibethi, and quam primum profecturum ex tota hac Missione Regnorum Thibethi, and eius fini-[55] bus, transiturumque ad alia loca, quæ vilo modo possint ad eandem Missionem pertinere.¹ Antequam verò ex his Regnis perficiscar² aperte dilucideque profiteor me vilo modo³ juri illi cedere posse, quod Societas Iesu in Missionem Thibethensem legitime habuisset, and habere videtur [60] donec aliter à Summo Pontifice statuatur. Hac de Causa in Nomine Sanctissimæ Trinitatis, and innocato Nomine Iesu appello ad immediatum supremumque Tribunal Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Domini Clementis XI. Summi Pontificis, vel eius successoris. Eoque vos aduoco, vt omnia [65] ea, quæ à me contra vestrum conatum expellendi meipsum necnon Societatem Iesu ab omnibus Regnis Thibethi in Indicium deferri possint a vobis metipsis, si ratio-110⁴ nes suppetant auertere conemini. Datum in Vrbe Pattanà die 19. Martij 1722. Hippolitus Desiderij. Socie- [70] tatis Iesu manu propria

da Montecchio, Capuchin Preacher, Missionary Apostolic and ex-Prefect: that, to obey the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lords Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, I have now left the Kingdom of Tibet, and shall relinquish this entire Mission of the Kingdom of Tibet and its limits,¹ and shall proceed to other places which may not belong in any way to the same Mission. However, before I go from these Kingdoms, I declare openly and clearly that I cannot in any way yield that right which the Society of Jesus appears lawfully to have had and to have on the Tibet Mission, until it be decided otherwise by the Sovereign Pontiff. For which Reason, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, and after invoking the name of Jesus, I appeal to the immediate and supreme Tribunal of Our Most Holy Lord the Lord Clement XI., Sovereign Pontiff, or of his successor. And to it I summon you, that you may try to avert from yourselves, if reasons there be, whatever can be produced in Judgment by me against your endeavour to expel me and the Society of Jesus from all the Kingdom of Tibet. Given at Pattanà, the 19th day of March, 1722.

Hippolytus Desiderij, of the Society of Jesus. In his own hand.

¹ We expect: ad alia laca, quæ nullo modo pertinere; or: exiis locis quæ ullo modo pertinere.

² We should have proficiscar.

³ We expect: nullo modo.

⁴ I cannot say how these figures got in here.

¹ That is, also the districts around Patna which had been assigned to the Capuchins.

(P. 3.)

Copia d'vna Lettera al p. Felice
da Montecchio

Lettera del Rmo Cappuccino nel
P. Preposito Generale della
Compagnia di Reuerendissimo
Gesù al P. Felice P. Tamburini Ge-
nerale della Com-
pagnia di Gesù—

Prima via—in altra seconda via—

Reuerendo Padre Padrone Os-
seruandissimo:—Gli officij d'-
Ospitalità, ed ogn'altra attenzione
auutasi da miei Religiosi in Ponti-
cheri, ed in Bengala à V.P.R., era
talmente douuta al suo merito, che
le cortesi espressioni, che si compia-
[s] ce farmene non sono, che
effetti d'vna speciale, e distinta
cortesia. La ringrazio per tanto
di sì gentili suoi sentimenti, e sia
V.P.R. pur certa, che m'obbliga
non poco il gradimento, che me ne
mostra. Desidero altre maggiori
coniunture à codesti miei Padri
da poterle mostrare l'os-[10]-
sequio, che se le deue, ed in ciò
incontreranno sempre il mio genio,
che è tutto rispetto, e stima verso
la sua persona à cui rassegnando
la mia più diuota osseruanza mi
protesto etc. Della P.V.R.—Ro-
ma—30. Aprile 1710.—Deuotis-
simo, ed Obligatissimo Seruo
Michelangelo Tam-[15]burini-nel
soprascritto: Al Reuerendo
Padre Felice da Montecchio Vice-
Prefetto del Thibet—Thibet—

Copia dell Ordine del P. Ge-
nerale mandata

Ordine del Rmo
P. Preposito Ge-
nerale al P. Hip-

al P. Dessiderij
per vscir dal
Thibet.

(P. 3.)

Copy of a letter to Father

Felice of Monte-

Letter of the
Rev. Fr. Pro-
vost General of
the Company of
Jesus, to Fr.
Felice of Mon-
tecchio.

ecchio, Tibet,
written by the
Very Rev. Fr.
Tamburini General
of the Com-
pany of Jesus.

First via.—The

second via is in another.

The services of Hospitality and
every other attention shown to
Your Reverend Paternity by my
Religious at Ponticheri and in
Bengala were so greatly due to
your merit that the polite expres-
sions which you are pleased to use
to me thereon are but prompted
by a special and distinct courtesy.
I thank you, nevertheless for such
kind sentiments, and Your Reve-
rend Paternity may, however, be
sure that the pleasure which you
show to me in the matter obliges
me not a little. I wish those
Fathers of mine may find other
and greater opportunities to show
the kindness they owe you, and
herein they will meet my own
inclination, which is one of un-
reserved respect and esteem for
your person. Assuring you of my
entire devotedness and respect, I
declare myself, etc.

Your Reverend Paternity's

Rome, the 30th of April 1710.

Most Devoted and Most Faith-
ful Servant,

Michelangelo Tamburini.

On the address: To the Rever-
end Father Felice of Montecchio,
Vice-Prefect of Tibet.—Tibet.

Copy of the order of the Father

General sent to

Order of the
Most Rev. Fr.
Provost General

Fr. Desiderij, for
leaving Tibet.

Very Reverend

politico per vscir dal Thibet. Molto Reuren do Padre in Christ. Pax Christi. Sino dall Anno passato scrissi al Padre Prouinciale di Goa, che richiamasse V.R. dalle missioni del Thibet per essere tale l'Ordine datomi dalla Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda[5] Fide à cagione d'esser state assegnate le missioni d'ambidue i Regni di Thibet à i PP. Cappuccini ad esclusione d'ogni altra Religione, l'istesso Ordine hò replicato quest' anno al Padre Prouinciale, ed à V.P.R., nella mia risposta alla sua, che hò già rimessa à Portogallo peressere inuiate per[10] la via ordinaria delle Navi di Goa.

Secondos. Benche non posso dubitare della pronta esecuzione di questi miei ordini replicati, con tutto ciò per auere auto doppo vn'nouo impulso da Monsignor Secretario de Propaganda Fide rinnouo ancor Io il medemo ordine[15] con questa mia che sarà inuiata à V.R. per altra strada; poiche assai me preme, che si eseguiscono i comandi della Sacra Congregazione massime per i Decreti de—15.—Gennaro 1665. —e di 28.—Aprile—1698.—, nè quali si (P. 4) ordina, che nessuno fondi nuoue Missioni senza licenza[20] espressa della Sacra Congregazione ne luoghi assegnati ad altre Religioni per le Missioni.

Terzo. Quando diedi à V.R. licenza d' andare al Thibet non mi era noto quest' assegnamento fatto dalla Sacra Congregazione alli PP. Cappuccini della Missione del[25] Thibet; anzi mi fù supposto, che dopo d'auer fondata P. P., ed esserui dimorati sino al 1650, quando ne furono discacciati per

to Fr. Hippolito for leaving Tibet.

Father in Christ. The Peace of Christ. Already last year I wrote to the Father Provincial of Goa, telling him to recall Your Reverence from the Missions of Tibet, such being the Order given me by the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, the Missions of both the Kingdoms of Tibet having been assigned to the Capuchin Fathers, to the exclusion of every other Religion. This year I have repeated the same order to the Father Provincial, and to Your Reverend Paternity in my answer to your letter, which I have already sent to Portugal to be sent by the ordinary way of the Goa ships.

Second. Though I cannot doubt of the prompt execution of these my repeated orders, yet, having since had a new push from Monsignor the Secretary de Propaganda Fide, I too renew the same order with this my letter, which will be sent to Your Reverence by another route; for he greatly urges me that the orders of the Sacred Congregation, as expressed chiefly in the Decrees of the 15th of January, 1665, and of 28th of April, 1698, be executed, wherein (P. 4) is ordained that no one without express leave of the Sacred Congregation found new Missions in the places assigned for the Missions to other Religions.

Third. When I gave Your Reverence leave to go to Tibet, I did not know of this assignment of the Mission of Tibet made by the Sacred Congregation to the Capuchin Fathers; rather, I supposed that after our Fathers had founded that Mission and had stayed therein till 1650, when they

vna persecutione; non si era più riaperta da altri. E però V.R. non si merauigli di questa noua disposizione per le nuone notizie aute-[30] dalla Sacra Congregazione. V.R. dunque in riceure questa mia subito si diaponga à partire da cotesta missione col merito che auerà acquistato appresso Dio in intraprendere così disastroso viaggio, ed in promouere con luoni principij, e non tanto Zelo la cognizione della no-[35]stra Santa Fede in codesto. Regno, aggiunga quello, della pronta vbbidienza assai più grata à sua Diuina Mæsta, che se conuertisse alla Fede tutti cotesti Regni, e subito, che potrà mi dia auiso dell' esecuzione data à questo mio ordine, e mi raccomando à suoi Santissimi Sacrificij, ed Orazioni. Roma 16. Gennaro-1719, D.V.R. Seruo in Christo Michelangiolo Tamburini—Al Molto Reuerendo Padre in Christo. Il P. Hippolito Desiderij della Compagnia di Gesù—Thibet.

were expelled from it by a persecution, it had not been reopened any more by others. And so, let not Your Reverence be surprised at this new disposition due to the new informations received from the Sacred Congregation. Therefore, on receiving this my letter, let Your Reverence prepare at once to leave that Mission with the merit which you will have acquired before God by undertaking so disastrous a journey and by promoting through good principles and with so much zeal the knowledge of our Holy Faith in that Kingdom. Add to it the merit of a prompt obedience, which will be much more pleasing to His Divine Majesty than if you should convert to the Faith all those Kingdoms; and, as soon as possible, inform me of the execution of this my order. And I commend myself to your Holy Sacrifices and Prayers.

Rome, the 16th of January, 1719.

Your Reverence's Servant in Christ.

Michelangiolo Tamburini,

To the Very Reverend Father in Christ, Fr. Hippolito Desiderij, of the Company of Jesus, Tibet.

Decretum Sacræ Congregationis
Generalis Fidei

Vltimo Decreto della Sacra Congregazione di lasciarsi da' PP. della compagnia alla Missione del Thibet.

Propagandæ habitæ Die—12. Decembris 1718.

Referente Eminentissimo, and Reuerendissimo DD. Cardinali

Barberino Sacra Congregatio inherendo, ac confirmando Decreta alias edita sub diebus 15. Ia-

Decree of the General Sacred
Congregation

Last Decree of the Sacred Congregation, by which the Fathers of the Company must leave the Mission of Tibet.

Propaganda Fidei, held on the 12th of December, 1718.

On the report of the Most Eminent and Most Reverend

Lord, Lord Cardinal Barberini, the Sacred Congregation adhering

nuarij—1656. 28 Aprilis—1698. prima Martij, and 20. Septembris superioris anni-1717. statuit, and mandauit seriò, atque distinctè iniungi, e¹ ac pricipi² P. Præposito Generali Societatis Iesu, vt juxta eiusmodi Decreta, ominò dimittat Missiones in Regnis Thibeti, vtpote P. P. Cappuccinis Italici diu jam assignatas, atque inde quacunque³ dilatione tergiversatione,⁴ ac mora sublata reuocet, ac remoueat suos Religiosos, qui ad easdem excelandas Missiones, inconsulta Sacra Congregatione, immo, and contra eius Decreta se contulerunt. Datum Romae etc.

Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Generalis Fidei Propagandæ habitæ—die. 11. Januarij 1704.

Referente R. P. D. Carolo Augustino Fab-

Decreto della S. G. per il quale il P. Felice da Montecchio fu dichiarato Missionario nella prima spedizione.

rono, Sectario, Sac. Congregatio Missionarium Apostolicum in Regnis Thibet ad Decennium declarauit P. Felicem à Montecchio Or-

dinis Cappuccinorum sub directione tamen, and dependentia Patris Ioannis Francisci à Camerino Præfecti, vel alterius Præfecti, seu Vice-Præfecti, à Sacra Congregatione deputandi, cui omnino parere debeat, ac necessarias facultates ad Missiones exercendas ab eodem juxta sibi tributam

to, and confirming, the Decrees issued at other times, on the 15th of January, 1656, on the 28th of April, 1698, on the 1st of March, and the 20th of September, of last year 1717, decided and earnestly ordered and distinctly enjoins and ordains that the Father Provost General of the Society of Jesus, according to the said Decrees, give up altogether the Missions in the Kingdoms of Tibet, as long assigned by now to the Italian Capuchin Fathers, and recall and remove thence, without any postponement, tergiversation or delay his Religious, who, without consulting the Sacred Congregation, nay, even against its Decrees, went to cultivate the same Missions. Given at Rome, etc.

Decree of the General Sacred Congregation Propagandæ Fidei held on the 11th day of January, 1704.

On the report of the Rev.

Fr. Dom Charles Augustine Fabronus, Secretary, the Sacred Congregation declared Father Felice of Montecchio, of the Order of Capuchins, an Apostolic Missionary for ten years, under the direction, nevertheless, and dependence of Father John Francis of Camerino, Prefect, or of another Prefect or Vice-Prefect to be appointed by the Sacred Congregation, as one whom he must obey in all things and from whom he must receive in

¹ *Iniungit.*

⁴ *Sic.*

² *Praecipit.*

⁵ *Sic. for il.*

³ *Sic.*

authoritatem in totum, vel in partem recipiat, seruata semper ipsius Præfecti, vel Vice-Præfecti tam circa facultates, quam circa loca, and tempus easdem exercendi moderatione; Nullo verò modoextra fines suæ Missionis ijs vti queat, ad quam donec, and quousque peruenerit nulla prorsus exemptione, aut priuilegio gaudere possit. Datum Romae—Die etc.

Franciscus Berberius¹ pro-
Præfectus—Eño Carulo² Bar-
berino
C. A. Fabronus, Secr.

Rescriptum Sacræ Congrega-
tionis Generalis
Decsioni repli- Fidei Propagan-
cate della Sacra dae abita³ prima
Congregazione Martij—1717.—
in ordine alla Communicetur
prima causa. Decretum Patri

Generali Societatis Iesu, qui curet omnino seruari-item sub Die 20. Septembris—1717. ad Patrem Generalem Societatis Iesu pro sollicita reparatione.

Decretum Sacræ Congregationis Generalis Fidei Propagandæ habite Die 28. Aprilis 1698. Relatis per Eminentissimum, and Reuerendissimum DD. Cardinalem Noricium Infrascriptis dubijs propositis à PP. Cappuccinis Prouinciæ Touronensis in Vrbe Surattensi Missionarij⁴ videlicet.

whole or in part the necessary faculties for exercising Missions, according to the authority granted him, always observing the said Prefect's or Vice-Prefect's control respecting both the faculties and the places and the time for exercising them; insuchwise, however, that he may not in any way use them outside the limits of his Mission and may not enjoy any exemption whatever or privilege until and up to what time he reaches it.

Given at Rome. On the day, etc.

Francis Berberinus, Prefect for the Most Eminent Charles Barberini,

C. A. Fabronus, Secretary.

Rescript of the General Sacred
Congregation
Repeated De- Fidei Propogan-
cisions of the dae held on the
Sacred Congre- first of March,
gation respect- 1717.
ing the first
cause.

Let the Decree be communi-
cated to the Father General of the Society of Jesus, and let him strictly observe it. Likewise (the rescript?) of the 20th of September, 1717, (addressed) to the Father General of the Society of Jesus for his careful attention.

Decree of the General Sacred Congregation Propagandæ held on the 28th of April 1698.—The Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord, Lord Cardinal Noricius, having reported the under-written doubts proposed by the Capuchin Fathers of the Touraine Province, Missionaries in the Town of Surat, viz. :

¹ Sic.

² Sic.

³ Sic.

⁴ Sic. for Missionaries.

Primo. An licitum sit Religionis cuiusque Ordinis, vel Congregationis, etiam Societatis Iesu, fundare nouam Missionem, absque speciali mandato istius Sacrae Congregationis in locis, vbi alij Religiosi jam habent fundatam.

Risposta della Sacra Congregazione su' non douersi fondar Mission¹ da altri Religiosi anco Gesuiti, ne luoghi da altri (P. 6) occupati senza espressa permisione della medesima.

Eminentissimi PP. rē maturē perpensa decreuerunt negatiuē, and dari Decretum—11 Ianuarij 1656.

Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Propagandæ Fidei die 11. Ianuarij 1656.

Sacra Congregatio censuit nullo modo in posterum licere pro bono Religionis Catholice ad tollendas inter Missionarios dissensiones, and litigia in locis, in quibus existunt Missionarij Apostolici vnius Ordinis nouam Missionem aliorum Religiosorum, etiam Societatis Iesu fundare, vel illam sub quouis prætextu, aut auctoritate exercere absque expressa licentia eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis, sub pœna priuationis Officij Priuilegij, and facultatis ipso facto incurrenda. Non obstantibus quibuscunque in contrarium facientibus.

Decreto sopra cio di essa S.C.

First. Whether without special order from that Sacred Congregation, it is allowed to the Religious of any Order or Congregation, also of the Society of Jesus, to found a new Mission in places where other Religious have already founded

Answer of the Sacred Congregation about forbidding the founding of a Mission by other Religious, also Jesuits, in the places occupied by others, (P. 6) without the express permission of the same.

one. The Most Eminent Fathers, having maturely weighed the matter, declared negatively, and ordered to issue the Decree of the 11th of January, 1656.

Decree of the Sacred Congregation Propagandæ Fidei, the 11th January, 1656.

The Sacred Congregation judged that in the future, for the good of the Catholic Religion, and to remove from among the Missionaries dissensions and disputes, it be not allowed in any way, in the places where there are Missionaries Apostolic of one Order, to found a new Mission of other Religious, also of the Society of Jesus, or under any pretext whatever or authority to exercise the same, without express leave from the same Sacred Congregation, under pain of privation of Office, Privilege, and faculty to be incurred by the very fact. Anything to the contrary notwithstanding.¹

¹ Sic.

¹ Our *Sommario A* is different from the *Sommario* seen by Puini, and containing four letters from Desideri, reproduced by Puini, who also published

30. Letter of the Viceroy Count de S. Vicente to the King of Nepal.

(Goa, Febr. 23, 1667.)

(*Arch. da India, Livro 2.0 dos Reis Vizinhos, fol. 53v.*)

(P. 135) The fame of Your Highness' greatness made me wish for an occasion when I could offer to Your Highness the friendship and all the good relations of this Estate with that of Your Highness: all the more as I was recommended to do so by His Majesty the King of Portugal, my Master, who, great and powerful (P. 136) King as he is, wishes to show love and good-will to all good Princes, such as Your Highness. And, as I was informed that the Fathers, the bearers of this, were going to Your Highness' Court, to live and settle in Your Kingdom, I thought it good to write through them, and not to defer any longer my expressing to Your Highness the desire I have that there should exist good friendship between Your Highness and His Majesty the King of Portugal, my Master.

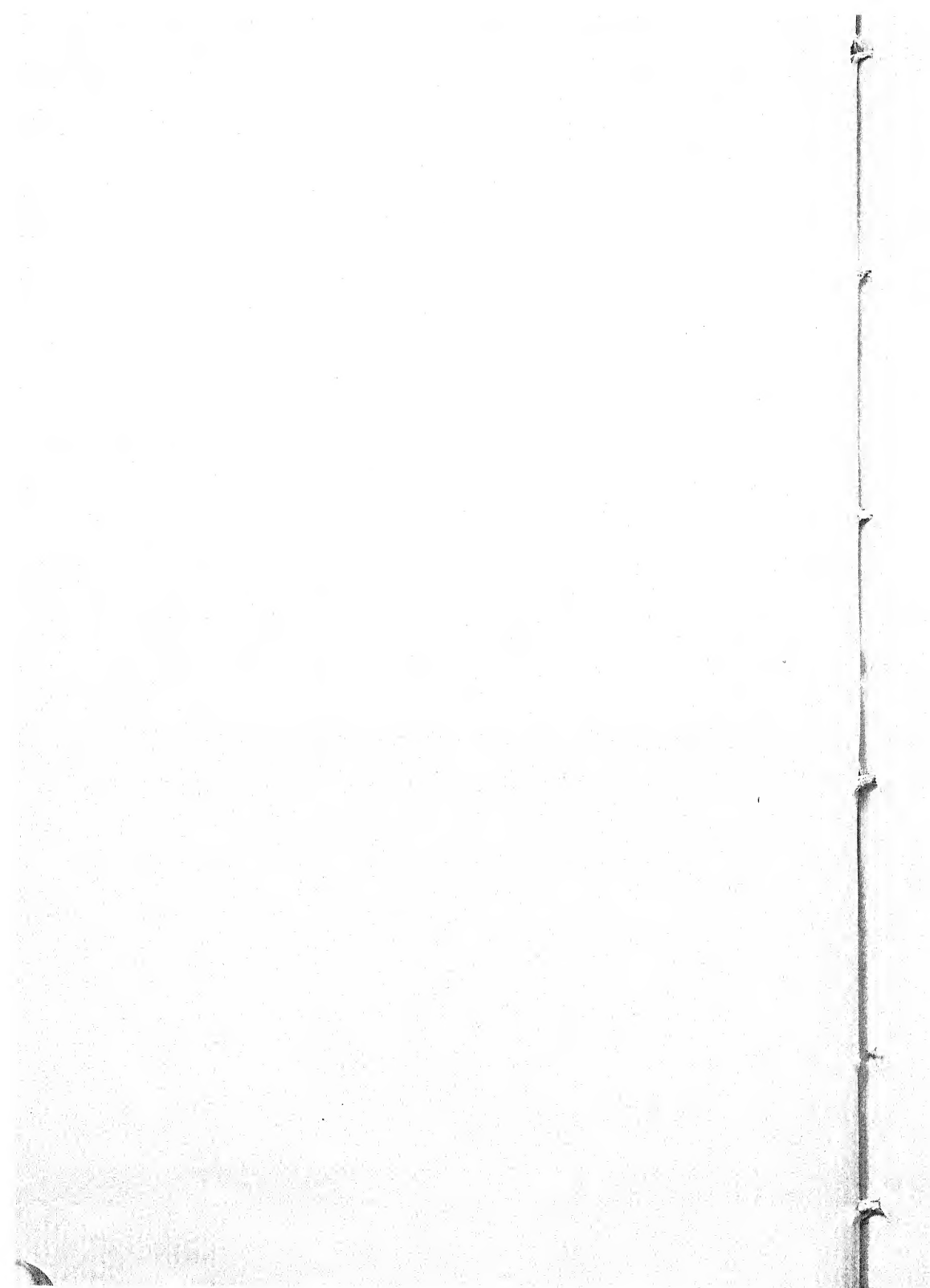
The Fathers who go to Your Highness' Court are priests of the true God and doctors in his law. They teach good customs, and the way to heaven to those who wish to hear them. They have no other intention than that of pleasing God and Your Highness; they do not meddle with trade or the acquisition of temporal goods, but aim only at obtaining the everlasting goods of the other life. And, as they need Your Highness' favour and help, I ask Your Highness to be willing to receive them under your protection, and not to allow anyone to harm them or to prevent their teaching freely the truths which God has revealed and which all must believe to attain bliss. All the kindness which Your Highness will do to these Fathers, I shall esteem as done to my person, and I shall thank you for them on the occasions which will offer themselves. May God keep Your Highness, and enlighten you in his divine grace, and with it have your Royal Person and Estate in his keeping.

Goa, the 23rd of February, 1667.

The Count Viceroy.¹

from it part of a long letter by Fr. Joseph of Ascoli, containing his itinerary from Patna to Lhasa (1707). This *Sommario* is not the only document still to be explored and published.

¹ Cf. Julio Firmino Judice Biker, *Collecção de Tratados e concertos de pazes*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, Tom. IV, 1884, pp. 135-136.



Life and Work of Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī.

By BAINI PRASHAD, D.Sc., F.R.A.S.B., *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

In 1911 Mr. Brajendranath De offered to prepare for the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series a properly collated edition of the text and an English translation of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which deals with the history of India for some six hundred years from the early Musalmān invasions to the end of the 38th year of the Emperor Akbar's reign (377–1001 A.H. ca. 987–1592 A.D.). The first fascicles of both the text and translation were published in 1913, but the issue of the succeeding parts was greatly delayed and the concluding volume of the translation from a manuscript left by Mr. De has only recently been issued under my editorship.

Unfortunately very little information is available about the life of the author Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī in the usual works of reference, and I, therefore, thought it desirable to include in a preface a detailed account of his life compiled from his own work and other contemporary sources. Bibliographical notices of the various authorities mentioned by the author in the introduction as the sources of the *Ṭabaqāt*, with notes regarding its importance as a comprehensive history of India up to 1592 A.D., and on its literary merits are also published in the same preface. In order to make this information more easily available to the general readers these sections of the preface are reprinted with a few additions in the *Journal* of the Society.

LIFE OF KHWĀJAH NIZĀMUDDĪN AḤMAD BAKHSHĪ.

The author is variously styled as Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Khwājah Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad or Nizāmi (*vide* Lowe's translation of '*Muntakhabū't-Tawārīkh*', vol. II, p. 479, 1924). In *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* he is called Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad, while by Abū-l-Faḍl¹, Mir Abū Turāb², Firishtah, and

¹ *Akbarnāma*, text edition, vol. III, p. 605 (1886) and Beveridge's translation of vol. III, p. 924 (1912–1939). In these notes various volumes of the *Akbarnāma* and the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* are cited as they have been issued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. It may, however, be noted that the *Ā'in*, which has been issued in three volumes, really formed the third and final volume of *Akbarnāma* (see Blochmann's Preface to the first volume of the *Ā'in*, Phillott's edition, p. v, 1939).

² Mir Abū Turāb Valī's *History of Gujarat*, edited by E. Denison Ross, p. 104 (1909).

others the appellation of *Bakhshī* is added after his name. Blochmann¹ in the *Ā'in* also designates him as 'Nizām of Hirāt'.

Unfortunately the information about the life of the author is very limited, and the two accounts in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*² and by Elliot³ seem to be based only on casual references in *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, *Akbarnāma*, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* and *Muntakhab-ul-lubāb*. None of the authors give the date or year of the birth of Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, and the information in this connection from contemporary sources is rather conflicting. Mrs. Beveridge in her translation of *Bābur-Nāma*⁴ states that Nizāmuddīn Ahmad was not born till 20 years after Bābur's death. As Bābur died on Jumādā I, 937 A.H. (December 26, 1530 A.D.) this would mean that the Khwājah was born in 956 or 957 A.H. (1549 or 1550 A.D.). According to Al-Badāonī (*vide* Lowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 411, 412) Mirzā Nizāmuddīn Ahmad died at the age of forty-five in the 38th year of Akbar's reign of a burning fever on the 23rd Šafar, 1003 A.H. (7th November, 1594 A.D.), which would mean that he was born some time in 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.). According to Shaikh Plāhdād Faīdī Sirhindī, the author of *Akbar-Nāma* (*vide* Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 130, 1875), he died at the age of nearly 48 years on the 22nd Šafar, 1003 A.H. in the 39th year of Akbar's reign. Al-Badāonī's statement, in view of the fact that he was a close friend of Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, and was actively associated with him in the compilation of the *Tabaqāt*, appears to be more reliable, and I have little hesitation in accepting it as correct. The year of his birth may, therefore, be taken as 958 A.H. or 1551 A.D.

Unfortunately we have very little information about Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Ahmad's ancestry⁵ beyond the fact that he was the son of Khwājah Muqīm Harawī (of Herāt), who was one of Bābur's officials and about the close of his reign was the *Diwān-i-buyūtāt*⁶. After the death of Bābur, when Gujarāt was conquered by Humāyūn and the province of Ahmadābād

¹ Phillott's edition of Blochmann's translation of the first volume of the *Ā'in*, p. 55, note 2 (1939).

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* by Samsāmud-Dowla Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Bibliotheca Indica* edition, vol. I, pp. 660-664 (1887-1894).

³ Elliot's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, pp. 180-184 (1849) and *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, pp. 178-180 (1873).

⁴ *Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 704 (1921).

⁵ Rieu in the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 220 (1879), stated that the author in his preface claims descent from the celebrated saint of Herāt Khwājah 'Abdullah Anšārī, but this is not mentioned in the text edition of the *Tabaqāt* issued by Mr. De.

⁶ According to Mrs. Beveridge "a Barrack-officer" (*Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 703, note 2), but Dowson translates *Diwān-i-buyūtāt* as the *Diwān* of the household (*Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 178, 1873).

was entrusted to Mirzā 'Askarī in 1535 A.D., Khwājah Muqīm was appointed his *wazīr*. He accompanied Humāyūn to Āgra when the latter fled after his defeat by Sher Khān Sūr at Chausa in Bihār on 26th June, 1539. Khwājah Muqīm also, according to the *Ṭabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. I, p. i) and *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, served under Akbar; this is again referred to in the *Ṭabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. II, p. 336) where in the account of the twelfth year it is stated "the author's father remained in Āgra, performing government work."

We know very little about the earlier years of life or the education of the young Khwājah, but according to Dowson¹ he was one of the pupils of 'Mullā Alī Sher', a learned man, and the father of Faiḍī Sirhindī, the author of *Akbar-Nāma*. There can be little doubt, however, that Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad was a well-educated and well-read young man who, "according to the instructions of his worthy father², occupied himself with the study of historical works, which brightens the intellect of the studious and inspires the intelligent with awe; and by the study of the accounts of the travellers in the stages of the journey of existence, which is like a progress of the soul rubbed off the rust of his nature."³ In addition to being a student of history and literature Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad was a patron of poets and apparently himself used to write poetry, though except for the few stray verses in the *Ṭabaqāt*, no extensive poetical work by the author is known. A reference, however, to Al-Badā'oni⁴ shows that various poets such as Amānī, Baqā'i, Hayātī and Ṣarfī were invited to Gujarāt by the Khwājah during the seven years of his stay in that province, and they flourished under his patronage. It was also during this time that he started writing his *Ṭabaqāt*, and had as his associate Mir Maṣūm of Bhakkar, who was distinguished as a man of learning and historian⁵. The interest of Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad in historical matters and his skill as a writer is evidenced by the fact that when the Emperor Akbar ordered the preparation⁶ of a history of

¹ *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 116 (1875).

² In this connection also see Mrs. Beveridge's remarks where she conjectures that Khwājah Muqīm lived long enough "to impress the worth of historical writing on his son" and probably "transmitted his recollections to him" (*vide Bābur-Nāma*, vol. II, p. 693, 1921).

³ *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. I, p. iv (1911).

⁴ *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol. III (1925).

⁵ See *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, translation of Blochmann, vol. I, Phillott's edition, p. 579 (1939).

⁶ *Vide Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 328 (1924). This is the famous *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, the introduction of which was written by Abū-l-Faḍl, but curiously the Emperor commanded its preparation in 990 A.H. even though the history was to deal with the events that had happened "in the seven zones for the last one thousand years." See *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, translation of Blochmann, vol. I, revised by Phillott, pages xli and 113 (1939).

the Kings of Islām in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) he employed the Khawājah as one of the seven authors for its compilation. According to Elliot (1849, *op. cit.*, p. 179) "the compiler of the Sahihul-Akhbār attributes another work on Indian History under the name of Tārīkh-i-īrīch, to the author of the Tabakāt-i-Akberī, but I am not aware that there is any good authority for the statement." I have also not been able to find any other reference beyond a reference in the account of Sarūp Chand's 'Sahihul-Akhbār' in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VIII, p. 314 (1877).

His interest in Sufism and theology is indicated by his association with Šūfis¹, Shaikhs and religious people in general. He may thus be assumed to have had a religious frame of mind, and his writings and the regard in which he was held by such bigoted Muhammadans as Al-Badāonī seem to indicate that he must have been quite orthodox in his views and observances². Miyān Kamāl-ud-dīn Husain of Shīrāz³, a well-known religious leader, wrote to Al-Badāonī after the Khawājah's death as follows: "For a long time I endured great grief and sorrow from hearing of the death of that repository of humanity, inseparably connected with liberality, him (*sic*) who had acquired all perfections, Mirzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and from the passing away of all the excellence of that phoenix of the age and of his love and faithful affection for you, my lord." After his recall from Gujarāt in 1589 A.D., when he came into closer contact with the Emperor Akbar, he became less orthodox—apparently in accordance with the prevailing atmosphere of the Royal Court, and does not appear to have looked askance at the innovations of the Divine Faith (Dīn Ilāhī) of the Emperor. Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad's ruse in mentioning Shaikh Husain's name when some of the orthodox leaders⁴ were summoned to the Imperial Court, also indicates the skillful way in which he managed to keep himself safe from his own religious beliefs being questioned. This view is confirmed by Blochmann (*loc. cit.*, 1869, p. 138) who in commenting on the change in the religious feelings of Al-Badāonī resulting from his past misfortunes and exclusion from Akbar's Court, sums up the situation in the following sentences: "He may have found it necessary to assume a more conciliating attitude towards the 'heretics' of the Court, and the members of Akbar's 'Divine Faith', who were in office and had partly brought about his pardon. He may have imitated the example

¹ *Vide Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol. III, p. 167 (1925).

² See Al-Badāonī in Ranking's translation of vol. I of *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, p. 9, where he is described as "a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed."

³ *Vide Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, Haig's translation of vol. III, pp. 186, 187 (1925).

⁴ *Vide* Haig's translation of *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, vol. III, pp. 137, 138, 151; and Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 309.

of his friend Nizāmuddīn, the historian, who, though a pious Muslim, managed to rise higher and higher in Akbar's favour by keeping his religious views to himself."

In addition to being a scholar he was a good soldier and administrator, as is clear from the meagre records available from such sources as the *Tabaqāt* and the *Akbarnāma*. There is practically no reference anywhere to any office held by the Khwājah up to about the thirty-fifth year of his life, the 29th year (*vide infra*) of Akbar's reign, though according to the *Dhakḥirat-ul-Khwānīn*¹, he was, at the beginning of his career, Akbar's *Dīwān* of the presence (*Dīwān-i-Hudūr*), but no mention of this appointment is made in any other work. In the account of the 12th year of the reign (974 A.H., 1567 A.D.) the author states (De's translation of vol. II, p. 336) that when the Emperor went to attack 'Alī Qulī Khān the author remained at Āgra with his father, and spread a vague rumour about the heads of Khān Zamān and Bahādūr Khān having been brought to Āgra. From the 12th to the 27th year (1567-1582 A.D.) of the reign there is no mention anywhere of Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad, but he was apparently closely associated with the Emperor as one of the Court officials, for after crossing the Sind Sāgar, the Emperor sent him with a message to Shāhzāda Shāh Murād (*vide De, loc. cit.*, p. 549, but Al-Badāonī says "to the prince Shāh Murād and the *Amirs*" *vide* Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 302). He traversed seventy-five *karohs* "in one day and night" and after delivering the message to the Shāhzāda, returned with his reply to the Emperor at Peshāwar. He then accompanied the Emperor on his march to Kābul and must have held some important post, for when the Emperor² had a list of all pious people (Lowe translates *اعل سادات* as the people of piety),

who were accompanying the army or were absent, prepared by the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, he arranged that Al-Badāonī, who was absent, be shown in the return as sick. In the 29th³ year of

¹ *Vide Maāthīr-ul-Umarā*, text vol. I, p. 661, and Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 178 (1873).

² See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 305. A curious inaccuracy to which reference may be made occurs here. Al-Badāonī here states that he had become acquainted with Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad about a year back, *i.e.*, about 989 A.H. or 1581 A.D., but Blochmann (*op. cit.*, p. 122), apparently misinterpreting the reference to Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad's activities at Āgra in 974 A.H. referred to above and in the *Muntakhab* (text, vol. II, p. 99), states that Al-Badāonī met him at Āgra in 974 "and became his warm friend."

³ Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad in the *Tabaqāt* (De's translation of vol. II, p. 561, 1936) includes this in the account of the events of the 29th year which begins on page 558 and is followed by Al-Badāonī (Lowe's translation of vol. II of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, p. 332) and in *Maāthīr-ul-Umarā* (text edition, vol. I, p. 661). Abū-l-Faḍl in *Akbarnāma* (vol. III, text edition, p. 403, English translation, p. 596) states, these appoint-

Akbar's reign (991 A.H., 1583 A.D.) the government of Gujarāt was transferred from Shihābuddīn to I'tmād Khān who, after the murder of Sultān Maḥmūd, had been the virtual king of Gujarāt till its conquest by Akbar in 980 A.H., and Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad was appointed the *Bakhshī*¹. Abū Turāb's account (*loc. cit.*, pp. 100, 101) of these appointments is rather vague, but in the *Ṭabaqāt* (p. 563) the author refers to his joining I'tmād Khān at Bijāpūr en route to Aḥmadābād after his appointment as the *Bakhshī*. The vacillating policy in reference to the affairs in Gujarāt² adopted by I'tmād Khān and the disturbances due to the intrigues of Shihābuddīn Aḥmad Khān and Quṭb-uddīn Khān led to Aḥmadābād being occupied by Nannū or Muẓaffar Gujarāti, and the rout of the Imperial forces outside

ments took place in the 28th year of the reign. In this connection reference may be made to De (*Ṭabaqāt*, English translation of vol. II, p. 559, note 1) where several discrepancies in the dates between *Akbarnāma* and *Ṭabaqāt* are pointed out; the former places the various events enumerated by De a year advance of the dates given in the latter. Inaccuracies in regard to the reckonings of the years of Akbar's reign on the part of Nizām-uddīn Aḥmad are pointed out by Al-Badāonī (*vide* Lowe's translation of vol. II, pp. 353, 363), and he explains these as being due to the author having not taken into account "the intercalated days, which every three years makes a difference of one lunar month, there is a difference in each cycle of a whole year, between the solar and lunar years", and his being away from the Imperial Camp in Gujarāt. After the death of Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad the dates in the *Ṭabaqāt* were checked and at least one corrected by his son Muḥammad Sharīf. In spite of the above, as Al-Badāonī follows the *Ṭabaqāt*, it seems that the dates as they now stand in the *Ṭabaqāt* are the corrected dates.

According to Denison Ross (*A History of Gujarat*, introduction, p. 5, 1909) the year in which 'I'timād Khan was made governor of Gujarāt' was 992 A.H. (1583 A.D.).

¹ Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad's name is included in the list of *Bakhshīs* of Akbar's reign (*vide* Phillott's edition of Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 596), and apparently at this time no distinction was made between *Bakhshī* and *Mīr Bakhshī*, as what is called *Bakhshī* in the *Ṭabaqāt* is *Mīr Bakhshī* in *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*. Abū-l-Faḍl in his introduction of the *Ā'in* (*vide* Phillott, *loc. cit.*, p. 5) mentions the *Mīr-bakhshī* as one of the nobles of the State, and Blochmann gives "Paymaster of the court" as its equivalent. For an account of *Bakhshī* see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan* (1932), page 276, from which it appears that this officer "was the head of the Military Department, and looked after recruitment, reviews, and other similar affairs connected with the army." Further distinction had been introduced in reference to the *Mīr* or Chief *Bakhshī*, while separate *Bakhshīs* were attached to each division during military campaigns. According to Sarkar (*Moghul Administration*, p. 24, 1924) there were three subordinate *Bakhshīs* at the end of 'Aurangzib's reign'. In view of the above and the active part played by Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad in the military campaigns and the administration of Gujarāt, the equivalents pay-master (*De, op. cit.*) and paymaster-general (Lowe, *loc. cit.*, p. 393) hardly appear to be appropriate. For a detailed discussion of *Bakhshī* and its various grades see Irvine—*The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 37-40 (1903).

² See Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, pp. 607-611, and *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, pp. 563-567.

the town. The Khwājah sent an account of all that had happened to Akbar, and as a result Mirzā Khān¹ son of Bairām Khān was sent with a well-equipped army to quell the disturbances in Gujarāt. It is not necessary to deal here with the campaign against Sultān Muẓaffar of Gujarāt, but a review of the period distinctly shows that throughout the campaign and earlier Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad proved a very valuable officer, and whether as a commander, and even as an active fighter, he gave a very good account of himself.

He successfully carried out negotiations with Shihābud-dīn, made arrangements for the defence of Aḥmadābād in the absence of the main force, defeated the forces of Sher Khān at Jūtānah, arranged for the attack on Muẓaffar's forces by Quṭbuddīn Khān from Bahroj and Baroda, attacked Muẓaffar's army from the rear at Sarkhej which resulted in its defeat, and later was mainly responsible for the defeat of Muẓaffar in the hills of Nādot. For his services in the Gujarāt campaign he was honoured with the gift of a horse and a robe of honour and an increase in his stipend. Later he carried out a successful campaign in Sorath and in the Ran of Kach. Mirzā Khān, who had meanwhile been honoured with the title of Khān Khānān, was, at his own request, recalled to the Royal Court, and Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad with Qulij Khān and Naurang Khān was left in charge of Gujarāt. During the Khān Khānān's absence Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad proved a very energetic officer, and successfully carried out a protracted campaign against Muẓaffar and his partisans in the Ran of Kach, and later subjugated the *Kolis* and *Grāssiyahs* in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadnagar. His skill as a commander and administrator is indicated throughout all these campaigns by the fact of his skillfully arranging the movements of the troops, attacking the enemy before its forces could be consolidated, his ruse for the relief of Ākhār, launching vigorous rear attacks in various battles, the establishments of *thānas* or military posts and the construction of forts.

This very successful term of office culminated in the Khwājah's being summoned to the Imperial Court in 996 A.H., when A'zam Khān was appointed as the Governor of Gujarāt². Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad traversed a distance of some 600 *karohs* in the course of twelve days, and reached Lāhore on the 3rd *Nauroz* of the 35th year of Akbar's reign. According to Al-Badāoni³, Akbar gave orders that the camel-drivers should appear before him in the *Mahjar* in the same condition in which

¹ *Tabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, pp. 567, 571, 572, and Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 613.

² For details see *Tabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, pp. 563-595, where references to other works and several discrepancies in dates and the different accounts are noted.

³ See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 384.

they had arrived, and they were a wonderful spectacle. After that he received boundless favours from the Emperor, and gained a great ascendancy over the mind of his royal patron. It was about this time that he was appointed in-charge of the provinces of Ajmir, Gujarāt and Mālwah, apparently of the *Khālṣa* lands¹. Towards the end of *Shā'ban*, 999 A.H., he was granted the *paraganah* of Shamasābād as his *jāgir* and was allowed five months' leave of absence to arrange matters there. In the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) when Āṣaf Khān *Bakhshī* was appointed to the Kābul campaign, Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad was appointed as the *Bakhshī*² in his place.

Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad accompanied Akbar to Kashmīr, and apparently was a great favourite of the Emperor at this time. His account of Kashmīr is not very detailed and the history of Akbar terminates with the end of the 38th year of his reign. The author describes it as having been written "in a summary manner by the pen of broken writing" . . . "but most of the great events have been succinctly narrated". "If life helps (me) and God's favour helps (me), the events of the coming years also, if the dear God so wills, will be noted down, and will be made a part of this worthy book. Otherwise, anyone who may be guided by the grace of God, having engaged himself in writing it down, will attain to great good fortune."³

While staying at Lāhore in attendance on the Emperor, Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad laid out or purchased a garden, and it was in this garden that he was buried after his death. At this time he is described by Al-Badāonī as having "entered on affairs with great energy and activity. He became the focus of all sorts of favours from the Emperor, and the recipient of his perfect trust with regard to his ability, good sense, sincerity, honesty and perseverance." He would probably have risen to much greater heights, but "suddenly at the very acme of his eminence, and the height of his activity, to the disappointment of the hopes of friends and strangers a dreadful blow was received from Fate, and at the age of forty-five he succumbed to a burning fever."⁴

The events preceding his death are described in greater detail in *Akbarnāma*⁵ where it is stated that on 14th *Safar*, 1003 A.H. (19th October, 1594 A.D.), at Shāham 'Alī, near Lāhore, he developed high fever while on a hunting expedition with the Emperor. His sons obtained leave to convey him to

¹ See Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 924.

² See Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, vol. II, p. 393. According to Lowe, *Bakhshī* was the paymaster-general.

³ *Vide Tabaqāt*. De's translation of vol. II, p. 652. The last sentence is quoted incorrectly in the life of the author in *Madhīr-ul-Umarā*.

⁴ Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, vol. II, p. 411.

⁵ Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 1005.

Lāhore, but he died on the 23rd ¹ *Ṣafar* (28th October, 1594 A.D.) on the banks of the river Rāwī.

In the *Akbarnāma* (*loc. cit.*) it is stated that Akbar's "discerning heart was somewhat grieved, and he begged for forgiveness for him at the court of God. Strangers and acquaintances mourned, and honesty (*rāstī*) indulged in grief."

Al-Badāonī's account (*vide* Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 412) is more detailed and is quoted here to indicate the regard and reverence in which he was held by all:

"There was scarcely anyone of high or low degree in the city, who did not weep over his bier, and recall his gracious qualities, and gnaw the back of the hand of regret." The last line of the *Qit'ah* which was composed on this occasion gives the year (1003 A.H.) of his death:

گوهر بی بها ز دنیا رفت ²

(A priceless pearl has left the world.)

TĀRĪKH-I-AKBARĪ: ITS SOURCES AND IMPORTANCE.

Before dealing with the work itself it would be useful to add a note here regarding the various names assigned to it. The author in his introduction ³ designated it the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbar-Shāhī* and stated that the word *Nizāmī*, the name of the author, gives the chronogram of the date of its compilation. In *Rauḍat-ut-Tāhīrīn* by Tāhīr Muḥammad, the work is called *Tārīkh-i-Sultān Nizāmī* ⁴, but this name has not been adopted

¹ Faiḏī Sirhindī in *Akhbar-Nāma*, as noted already, gives 22nd Ṣafar, 1003 A.H. as the date of death of Khwājah Nizāmuddīn Ahmad Bakhshī (*vide* Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 130, 1875); this is certainly incorrect.

² Text edition of *Muntakhab Al-Tawarikh* by Lees, Kabir al-Din Ahmad and Ahmad Ali, vol. II, p. 398 (1865).

³ See De's translation of vol. I, p. 6 (1911). The date comes to 1001 A.H. (50+900+1+40+10) or 1592 A.D. The author died in 1003 A.H., 1594 A.D., and he was apparently working at it for several years before his death. See Ranking's translation of *Muntakhab-i-tawārīkh*, vol. I, pp. 9, 10, footnote 2, 1898). In this connection reference may also be made to Al-Badāonī's remarks where in his description of the events of the year 1002 A.H. he says "Let not the intelligent reader be ignorant of the fact that as to that which has been written up to this point the source of the greater part of it is the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī Shāhī* (*sic*), the date of which, I, this erring author, after much thought found to be *Nizāmī*. Having persuaded the said author to allow me, I wrote a part of the book myself." (Lowe's translation of vol. II, p. 403).

⁴ *Vide* W. H. Morley, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Manuscripts*, p. 68 (1864), and Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, p. 177 (1873). For details of the work *Rauḍat-ut-Tāhīrīn* see Beveridge, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal (n.s.)* vol. XIV, pp. 269-277 (1918). Unfortunately the only manuscript of this work in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society

by any of the later writers. The work is called the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī* by Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfi Khān in *Muntakhab-ul-lubāb* (vide text-edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, vol. I, p. 238, 1869). The same name was also used by ‘Abd-ul-Qādir, also known as Al-Badāonī¹, in his *Muntakhab-ul-tawārīkh*, but he also calls it ‘*Nizāmu-t-Tawārīkh*’ (vide Ranking’s English translation in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, vol. I, pp. 9, 10, 1898). Firishtah (*Tārīkh-i-Firishtah*, Persian text, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 4, 1884) designated it as the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmuddīn Ahmad Bakhshī*, and Col. Briggs in his translation (*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, Author’s Preface, p. xlviii, 1829) calls it ‘*History of Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy*’. Blochmann (*loc. cit.*, p. 115), as noted already, calls it ‘*Tabaqāt i Nizām i Bakhshī*’. Several manuscripts, however, bear the name *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and under this name the work is cited in various descriptive catalogues of Persian Manuscripts in most well-known European libraries (for details see M. Hidāyat Hosain’s preface to *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, p. vii, footnote 1, 1939). This name was apparently first adopted by Elliot² who remarked that “the name by which it is best known in literary circles is *Tabakāt-i-Akberī*”, and this was also selected for the edition issued by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in preference to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbar-Shāhī*, to avoid confusion with a work of the same name by Khwājah ‘Atā Beg Qazvinī written about 1014 A.H., 1605 A.D. According to Ranking (*loc. cit.*) the work is simply known as ‘*Tabaqāt*,’ while Lees (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc. (n.s.)* vol. III, p. 455, 1868) erroneously designates it as the ‘*Tārīkh-i-Tabakāt-i-Akbar-Shāhī*’.

Beveridge³ in dealing with the sources of *Akbarnāma* stated that the ‘*Tabaqat-Akbari*’ and ‘*Badayuni’s* abridgment thereof’ (*Muntakhab-ul-tawārīkh*) “were probably written under Akbar’s orders or inspired by his action.” In the introduction to *Akbarnāma*⁴ while referring to Abū-l-Faḍl’s love for sources or the *Quellen*, he remarked that “to him we owe not only the *Akbarnāma* but also the *Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam*, *Jauhar* the ewer-bearer, *Bajazat* (Bāyazīd) *Biyat* and perhaps *Nizāmu-d-dīn’s* history”. Neither of the two views is upheld by a study of the contemporary sources. The work was started

of Bengal (No. 42, vide *Ivanoff’s Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, p. 13, 1924) is incomplete, and I have not, therefore, been able to verify this reference.

¹ For a critical note in reference to *Al-Badāonī* see Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 119, 120 (1869).

² Elliot’s *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, vol. I (the only volume ever issued), p. 179 (1849). Also see Elliot’s *History of India*, vol. V, p. 177 (1873).

³ *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal (n.s.)* vol. XIV, p. 469 (1919).

⁴ *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge’s translation of vol. III, introduction p. xi (1939).

and completed by the author at his own initiative and there is no mention anywhere of either Akbar or Abū-l-Faḍl having sponsored or inspired its compilation. He certainly was helped¹ in the work by such friends as Mīr Ma'ṣūm of Bhakkar², 'Abdul Qādir Al-Badāonī³ and others, but the major part of the work was his own composition, based on a study of several historical works and such independent information as he could collect from various sources by research and industry⁴. His history of the Akbar's reign is based on personal observations, on information obtained from firsthand sources and probably to some extent on Abū-l-Faḍl's *opus magnum* the *Akbarnāma*⁵.

In the introduction and dedication of the *Ṭabaqāt Khwājah* NiẒāmuddīn Aḥmad explains the genesis of the work as follows:

"It came to the dull understanding of the author that he should, with the pen of truth and candour, write a comprehensive history which should present in a clear style, in its different sections, an account of the Empire of Hindustan from the time of Sabuktigin which began with the year 367 A.H., when Islam first appeared in the country of Hindustan, to the year 1001 A.H., corresponding with the thirty-seventh year of the Divine era, which was inaugurated at the epoch-making accession of His Majesty, the vicegerent of God; and should embellish the end of each section with the story of the victories of His Majesty's glorious army, which is as it were an introduction to the sublime chronicle of renown; then he should give a comprehensive account of all the victories and events and occurrences of His Majesty's reign each in its own place. The details of these events are contained in the great history called the *Ākbar-nāmah*, which that embodiment of all excellence, the learned in all truths and knowledge, the personification of worldly and spiritual perfection, the favoured of his Majesty the Emperor, the most erudite Sheikh Abul Fazl who is the preface of all excellence and

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, text edition, vol. I, p. 663.

² For an account of this great author, historian and administrator see *A'in-i-Akbarī*, Phillott's edition of Blochmann's translation of vol. I, pp. 578-580 (1939).

³ Lowe's translation of *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, vol. II, p. 403.

⁴ The words in *Maāthir* (*loc. cit.*) are

و چون جز رسی و دقت در تنقیح اخبار و سعی تمام بفراهم آوردن

مواد بکار برده *

⁵ I have included *Akbarnāma* as one of his sources, as it is mentioned in the introduction, but in view of various discrepancies in the accounts in the *Ṭabaqāt* and *Akbarnāma* it is very doubtful whether he really utilized it to any extent in the compilation of his own History.

eminence has written with his wonder-inscribing pen, and has made a chronicle for all times.”¹

The history actually starts from about 377 A.H. corresponding to 987 A.D., and not 367 A.H. as stated by the author in the introduction; an account of the earlier years in a few lines merely introduces Amīr Nāṣiruddīn Sabuktigīn and can by no stretch of imagination be regarded as a history of those years. According to the author, as will be seen from the quotation above, he deals with the history of India up to the year 1001 A.H. corresponding to the thirty-seventh year of Akbar's reign, and apparently it was this which was responsible for Mr. De describing it on the title-pages of volume I, both of the text and the translation, and of the text edition of volume II, as ‘A History of India from the early Musalmān Invasions to the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Akbar’. The work, on the other hand, as is clear from a perusal of the author's concluding paragraph of the account of Akbar's reign², succinctly narrates the events up to the end of the 38th year corresponding to 1002 A.H. (1593-1594 A.D.), and this is confirmed by a reference to the

¹ De's translation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. I, p. v. The corresponding passage of the Persian text runs as follows:

بخاطر فاطر رسید - که تاریخی که جامع و مشتمل بر تمامی احوال ممالک هندوستان باشد - بعبارتی واضح از زمان سبکتگین، که سنه سبع و ستین و ثلثمائه - و ابتدا ظهور اسلام در بلاد هندوستان است - تا سنه احدی و الف - موافق سی و هفتم سال الهی - که مبداء آن از جلوس ابد قرین حضرت خلیفه الهی است - طبقه بر طبقه مرقوم خامه صدق و سداد گرداند - و خاتمه هر طبقه را بفتح مرکب عالی آنحضرت که عنوان رفعت نامه مفاخرست - اتصال دهد آنگاه مجملی از جمیع فتوحات و واقعات و واردات حضرت خلیفه الهی که این مختصرتر باید بجای خویش عرضه نماید - و تفصیل این اجمال - مفروض به کتاب عالیخطاب اکبرنامه است - که افضل پدال - معارف و حقایق آگاه - جامع کمالات صوری و معنوی - مقرب الحضرت السلطانی - علامی شیخ ابوالفضل که دیباچه مکارم و معالیمت - بقلم بدائع رقم نگاشته صحائف ایام ساخته *

It will be seen that جامع و مشتمل بر تمامی احوال has been translated by Mr. De as “comprehensive”, خامه صدق و سداد as “with the pen of truth and candour” and بعبارتی واضح as “in a clear style”.

² *Ṭabaqāt*, De's translation of vol. II, p. 652 (1936).

*Akbarnāma*¹. The consultation with the *Khān Khānān* regarding the Deccan campaign, which took place after the 8th Dai (or Di) of the 38th year near the town of Sultānpūr (or Shaikhūpūr), is mentioned in the penultimate paragraph of the account of Akbar's reign in the *Ṭabaqāt*. The mistake was corrected on the title-page of the translation of volume II, but to avoid ambiguity it would have been better to add the words 'the end of' before "the thirty-eighth year" or still better to use 'to the thirty-ninth year of Akbar's reign'.

Excluding the *Akbarnāma* the author cites the following twenty-eight works which he utilized in the compilation of his *Ṭabaqāt*:

1. *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*.
2. *Tārīkh-i-Zaīn-ul-Akhbār*.
3. *Raudat-us-Safā*.
4. *Tāj-ul-Maāthir*.
5. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*.
6. *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ*.
7. *Tughluq-Nāmah*.
8. *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī* by *Ḍiyā Barnī*.
9. *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī*.
10. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*.
11. *Futūḥ-us-Salṭīn*.
12. *Tārīkh Maḥmūdshāhī Hindwī* (Mandwī according to Rieu).
13. *Tārīkh Maḥmūdshāhī Khurd Hindwī* (Mandwī according to Rieu).
14. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Maḥmūdshāhī Gujarātī*.
15. *Maāthir-i-Maḥmūdshāhī Gujarātī*.
16. *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*.
17. *Tārīkh-i-Bahādurshāhī*.
18. *Tārīkh-i-Bahamānī*.
19. *Tārīkh-i-Nāsirī*².
20. *Tārīkh-i-Muzaḥfarshāhī*.
21. *Tārīkh-i-Mirzā Haidar*.
22. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*.
23. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*.
24. *Tārīkh-i-Bāburī*.
25. *Wāqī'āt-i-Bāburī*.
26. *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmshāhī*.
27. *Wāqī'āt-i-Mushtāqī*.

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation of vol. III, p. 996 (1910-1939).

² Rieu (*Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 220, 1879) cites numbers 19 and 20 as a single work under the title '*Tārīkh-i-Nāsirī-u-Muzaḥfarshāhī*', but in the text the two read as:

28. *Wāqī'āt-i-Ḥaḍrat Jannat Āshiyānī Humāyūn Bādshāh.*

Unfortunately some of the works cited in the *Ṭabaqāt* are not traceable, but I give below short bibliographical notes on the authorities referred to in the above list.

1. *Tārīkh Al-Yamīnī*¹ by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbi is a history of the first two Ghaznavid sovereigns Subuktigin and Maḥmūd. It was written about 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.). This work has been translated into Persian, and an English translation of the Persian version by Reynolds was published for the Oriental Translation Fund, London, in 1858. Full bibliographical details of this work were published by M. Hidāyat Ḥosain in his *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Buhār Library*, vol. II, pp. 260, 261 (1923).

2. *Kitāb Zain-ul-Akhbār* by Abū Sa'īd 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy bin aḍ-Ḍaḥḥak bin Maḥmūd Gardezi is a very rare historical work. Only two incomplete manuscripts² of this work are known, one in the library of King's College, Cambridge (213), and the other in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ouseley, 240); it has further been suggested that the Bodleian manuscript is only a copy of the one at King's College, Cambridge.

Zain-ul-Akhbār is a general history of Persia from the Pishdādiyān dynasty, dealing particularly with the governors and rulers of Khurāsān up to ca. 440 A.H. (1048 A.D.). Unfortunately a large portion of the work is lost, but an edition of the first thirteen sections of the text was published by Muḥammad Nāzim³.

As is pointed out by Muḥammad Nāzim, Khwājah Nizām-uddīn Aḥmad Bakḥshī was the first author to utilize this work for his account of the Ghaznavid sovereigns in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and the discovery of this rare work must remain to his credit. Firishtah also includes *Zain-ul-Akhbār* amongst the sources of his *Tārīkh*, but in view of the fact that his account of the period dealt with in the *Zain* was based mainly on the *Ṭabaqāt*, it seems likely that he had only taken this reference from Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad's list.

¹ ترجمہ یمنی in Firishtah and 'Turjooma Yemuni' in Briggs (loc. cit., p. xlix).

² For details see pages 1-4 of the Preface to Muhammad Nāzim's edition of sections i-xiii of *Kitāb Zain ul-Akhbar* (E. G. Browne, Mem. Ser. I, 1928).

³ Vide note 3, p. xxii. The editor cites Elliot's *History of India*, 1869, as the first notice of this work. This is incorrect, as Elliot in his *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, p. 83 (1849), had published a detailed note regarding the Ouseley Manuscript No. 240 which is now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; this was reprinted in Elliot's *History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 557, 558 (1872), while the 1869 reference cited by the editor is only a casual notice of the work in vol. II of the same publication (p. 432).

3. *Raudat-us-Ṣafā* by Muḥammad bin Khāwand Shāh bin Maḥmūd. Very little information is available about the birth or early life of the author, but he is stated to have died at Herāt in 903 A.H. (1497 A.D.). *Raudat* is a work on general history, from the creation of the world to the author's time. For details see *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar*, Bombay edition, volume II, pp. 198, 339, and Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I, p. 87 (1879). A full account of the work and translations of some extracts by Sir H. M. Elliot are published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 127-140 (1872).

4. *Tāj-ul-Maāthir* by Ḥasan Niẓāmī of Nishāpūr deals with the history of part of the reign of Mu'izuddīn (assassinated 602 A.H., 1206 A.D.), the entire reign of Qutbuddīn Aibak (602-607 A.H., 1206-1210 A.D.) and the first seven years of the reign of Shamsuddīn Iltutmish (1211-1217 A.D.). A detailed account of the *Tāj* was published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. II, pp. 204-243 (1869), while Ethé in the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office*, vol. I, p. 209 (1901) gives full bibliographic references.

5. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by Minhāj Sirāj Jūzjānī is a very valuable historical work from the earliest times to 658 A.H. (1259 A.D.). The author in honour of his patron Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh, king of Delhi (644-664 A.H., 1246-1266 A.D.), named it *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. A detailed account of the work is given in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. II, pp. 259-383 (1869) and vol. VIII, pp. i-xxxi (1877), and full bibliographical references are included in Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 72, 73 (1879). The text of sections xi and xvii-xxiii edited by W. Nassau Lees, Khādim Husain and 'Abdul Ḥayī was issued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1863-1864, and an English translation of sections vii-xxiii and an epitome of the first six sections by H. G. Raverty was issued in the same series from 1873-1881; a fascicle of indices was issued in 1897.

6. *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ* or the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāi* by Amīr Khusrāu is a short but very important contemporary history of the reign of 'Alāuddīn dealing with the period 695-711 A.H. (1296-1312 A.D.). The work is very rare¹, only two manuscripts, one in the British Museum (Or. 1638) and the other in King's College Library, Cambridge, are known. A lithograph edition² based on the British Museum manuscript was published under the editorship of 'Moinul Haq' in 1927, but, as has been pointed out by Dr. Mirzā³, it is "full of mistakes, due either to faulty transcription or to careless editing."

¹ For details see Mohammad Wahid Mirza—*The Life and Works of Amir Khusrāu*, p. 225, footnote 1 (*Punjab Univ. Orient. Pub.*, Calcutta, 1935).

² *The Khazainul Futuh* edited by Syed Moinul Haq (*Publications of the Sultanania Hist. Soc.*, Aligarh, 1927).

³ M. W. Mirza, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

In his excellent study of Amīr Khusrau Dr. Mīrzā (pp. 222–225) has given a detailed list of contents of the historical material of the *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ* and discussed its literary peculiarities; Prof. M. Ḥabīb¹ in his introduction to the text edition had also dealt with the literary characteristics and the historical importance of this work.

7. *Tughluq-Nāmah* by Amīr Khusrau was quite unknown till recently, as no copies of it are preserved in any of the European or Indian libraries. Al-Badāonī (*Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*, Ranking's translation of vol. I, p. 301) remarks that it was the last of Amīr Khusrau's works, and "was written in verse in honour of the Sultān and in obedience to his order". Ethé in his *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office*, p. 405, in the account of *Haft Iqlīm*, notes that the work consisted of 3,000 *bait*s (verses). A manuscript entitled *Jahāngīrnāmah* by Ḥayātī Kāshī in the personal library of Maulānā Ḥabīb-ur-Rahmān Shirwānī of Ḥabībganj was recently identified as the *Tughluq-Nāmah* of Amīr Khusrau by the late Maulvī Rashīd Aḥmad Anṣārī. A detailed introduction, a summary of this work by the editor Saiyid Hāshimī Farīdābādī, an incomplete descriptive note by Maulvī Rashīd Aḥmad in Urdū, and the text was published at Aurangābād, Deccan, in 1352 A.H. (1933 A.D.).

Relying on the statements in *Kashf-uz-Zunūn* and 'Abd-ul-Qādir Al-Badāonī's *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh* the *Tughluq-Nāmah* is believed to have been composed in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.), but some part of the work had been lost even in Akbar's time, and in 1019 A.H. (1610 A.D.), Jahāngīr commissioned Ḥayātī Kāshī to supply the missing parts to complete the work. The work, as published, is believed to be what has been preserved of Ḥayātī's revised version, and consists of 2,920 verses. In view of the presence of a تری (catch-word) on the last page of the manuscript and a statement by Ḥayātī (*vide* verses 168–177) that he intends to complete the work by adding some further verses at the end, it is surmised by the editor that some of the folios at the end are missing. 179 verses in the beginning of the work are definitely identified as Ḥayātī's work, leaving a balance of 2,742 verses² by Amīr Khusrau. The editor in his introduction directs special

¹ English Introduction by M. Ḥabīb to M. Haq's text edition, pp. 1–15 (*vide* Note 2 *supra*).

² There is apparently a mistake in the number of verses assigned to Amīr Khusrau, as after deducting 179 of Ḥayātī's verses from the total number of 2,920 verses in the work, the number should be 2,741 and not 2,742 as given on p. 2 of the work. In this connection also see the critical account of M. W. Mirza, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–253. He rightly does not include the *abyāt-i-silsilah* or the rubrics in verse in the number of verses, and is of the opinion that only 2,717 verses should be accepted as being by Khusrau. For a detailed analysis of the work also see Ḥusain's *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938).

attention to the historical importance of the work in connection with the following:—the murder of Sultān Qutbuddīn, the last of the Khaljī kings (716 A.H., 1316 A.D.), annihilation of the 'Alāi dynasty; Khusrāu Khān's short-lived reign of a few days¹, insurrection of the Tughluq (Ghāzī Malik later Ghiyāthuddīn Tughluq I), his correspondence with various *Amīrs*, advance to Delhi and victory over the usurper Khusrāu Khān after two big battles, capture of Khusrāu Khān and his brother, and finally his execution. This period (1316–1320 A.D.) marks the fall of the Khaljī and the rise of the Tughluq Dynasty. On comparing the accounts in *Tughluq-Nāmah* with that in the *Tabaqāt*, it appears almost certain that the author of the latter did not make much use of the former in compiling his account of the period under reference.

8. *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī* by Diyā Barnī is a history of the Sultāns of Delhi from the accession of Ghiyāthuddīn Balban, 662 A.H. (1266 A.D.), to the sixth year of Firūzshāh's reign, 758 A.H. (1357 A.D.). It is the most important history of the period and was apparently the authority on which NiẒāmuddīn Aḥmad and Firishtah based their works. The work was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series (1860–1862). A translation of the introduction and of the major part of the work was published by Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. III, pp. 93–268 (1871).

9. *Futūḥāt-i-Firūzshāhī* by the King Firūzshāh Tughluq (752–790 A.H., 1351–1388 A.D.) is a record of "the edicts and ordinances of his reign, the abuses and evil practices which he has put down, the buildings, monuments and works of public utility which he has carried out." A translation of the entire work is published by Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. III, pp. 374–388 (1871).

10. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* by Yahya bin Aḥmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindī is a history of the Sultāns of Delhi from the time of Mu'izzuddīn bin Sām, the founder of the Ghūrī Dynasty, to 838 A.H., 1434 A.D. It is the most reliable and in fact the only source for the history of the first three kings of the Saiyid Dynasty from 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) to 838 A.H. (1434 A.D.), and the accounts in the *Tabaqāt* and Firishtah's History are not only based on it, but in most cases are *verbatim* copies of Yahya's account. An account of this work with extracts is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 6–88 (1872) and the entire work was issued in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1931 under the editorship of M. Hidāyat Hosain. An English translation by

¹ The period of Khusrāu Khān's reign, who took the name of Nāsir-ud-dīn Khusrāu, was exactly two months, *vide Tughluq-Nāmah*, pp. 18, 19, from the 1st of Jumādā II to 1st Sha'bān, 720 A.H. (9th July to 6th September, 1320 A.D.).

K. K. Basu was published in the *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, No. lxiii, in 1932.

11. *Futūh-us-Salāṭīn* by 'Iṣāmī (Khawājah 'Abd-ul-Mulk 'Iṣāmī according to Ethé¹) is a very important historical work in verse, from the time of Subuktigin of Ghaznī to Muhammad bin Tughluq. The *Futūh*, like the *Kitāb Zain-ul-Akhhār*, is a very rare work and only two manuscripts² of it are known. Like the *Zain* it was first mentioned in the sources of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* by Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad, and it appears that the references in Firishtah³ and Al-Badāonī⁴ are only taken from the *Tabaqāt*. Briggs⁵ was not personally acquainted with the work, but remarked that the *Futūh* is an unimportant book of historical romances.

The text⁶ of the *Futūh*, based on the manuscript in the India Office Library, was issued in 1938 by Dr. A. Mahdī Ḥusain of Āgra. In the Urdū and English prefaces of this edition the editor briefly discusses the historical and literary merits of the *Futūh*, while a short critical notice is published in his monographic study⁷ of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Prof. A. S. U'sha of Madras has also published an '*Iṣāmī Nāma* and discussed the merits of 'Iṣāmī's publications, but I have unfortunately not been able to refer to his publications⁸; his views have been adversely criticized by M. Husain and M. Haq⁹. A critical review¹⁰ of the work is also being published in the Urdū monthly *Ma'ārif* by Ṣabāḥuddīn 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān.

Futūh-us-Salāṭīn originally consisted of about 12,000 verses, but according to the editor, only 11,524 verses were found in the India Office manuscript; of these, nineteen verses (Nos. 11294-11312) are quite illegible. The work was completed in five months and nine days (10th December, 1349-14th May, 1350 A.D.). For his sources the author does not specify any special works, but states¹¹ that he based his

¹ Ethé, H. *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, p. 559, No. 895 (1903).

² Vide page I of the English Preface of the text edition of the '*Futūh-us-Salāṭīn*' edited by A. Mahdī Ḥusain (Āgra, 1938).

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭah* (Lucknow edition), p. 132 (1884).

⁴ *Muntakhab Al-Tawarikh*, text edition, vol. I, p. 236 (1868).

Ranking in his translation of this volume, p. 314 (1898), note 9, remarks: "I can find no mention of this work."

⁵ Briggs, J. *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, p. 406 (1829).

⁶ Vide Note 2 *supra*.

⁷ M. Ḥusain, '*The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*', pp. 253, 254 and Preface pp. xiv-xvi (London, 1938).

⁸ References to Prof. U'sha's contributions are given in M. Ḥusain and M. Haq.

⁹ M. Haq, *Muslim Univ. Journ.*, vol. V, No. 2, pp. 30-32 (1938).

¹⁰ *Ma'ārif*, vol. XLIV, Nos. 2-4, pp. 109-127, 201-216, 279-298, in progress (1939).

¹¹ Vide page 579, verses 11437-11443 of the text edition.

account on the *Hadīth*, various descriptive works, old legends, information gathered from friends and personal observations.

Dr. M. Husain sums up the historical importance of the work as follows ¹:—"It presents in tolerably accurate chronological order events of the political history of India for over three hundred years, and it also throws light on the beginning of the Bahmani rule in the Deccan; on the psychology of the 14th century India; on the principal towns and their respective distances; on the nature of punishments then inflicted; on the Hindu amirs and princes; and on the Hindi words and idioms then in Muslim usage." He further regards the *Futūh* as a literary work of exceptional merit, and 'Isāmī as the best epic writer of the age.

Sabāhuddīn 'Abd-ur-Rahmān in his critical review after comparing 'Isāmī's accounts with some contemporary sources, such as the *Rihla* of Ibn Battūṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* and other works, is of the opinion that most of the legends and stories in the *Futūh* are not based on any historical facts. The historical data of the *Futūh*, on the other hand, are generally correct, and, even though involved and jumbled at times, are valuable in supplying additional information and for clearing up details of several doubtful events. It is, however, not possible to adjudge the extent to which the *Futūh* was utilized in the compilation of the *Ṭabaqāt*.

12, 13. It has not been possible to identify the two works *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūdshāhī Mandwī* and *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūdshāhī Khurd Mandwī*. The works seem to be lost and no accounts of either beyond the references in the *Ṭabaqāt* and Firishtah's History are now available.

14. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Mahmūdshāhī Gujarātī*. No work of this title is known, and it has not been possible to identify it with any other History of Gujarāt.

15. *Maāthir-i-Mahmūdshāhī Gujarātī*. This is also an unknown work, but Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 967 (1883), has suggested its possible identity with *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūdshāhī* of unknown authorship (manuscript No. Or. 1819, pp. 966, 967), and given full details of its contents.

16. *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi*. In the absence of the name of the author, and in view of there being several works of this name, it is difficult to be certain regarding the work referred to in the *Ṭabaqāt*, but if one were to hazard a guess, it seems likely that the work cited is no other than the general history, by Muḥammad Bihāmad Khānī, from the time of Muḥammad to 842 A.H. (1438 A.D.), with special reference to India, which is described in detail in Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 84-86 (1879).

17. *Tārīkh-i-Bahādurshāhī*. This work is referred to as a source of reference in various histories, but it has not been

¹ Vide page 3 of the English Preface to the text edition.

possible to trace it. In *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, p. 484 (1875), it is referred to as a work by "another individual who wrote all the rest of the annals of Sultān Fīroz's reign, as well as those of the Gujarat sovereigns, under the title of *Tārīkh-i-Bahādūr Shāhī*."

18. *Tārīkh-i-Bahamanī* is another lost work which is only referred to in several historical works, but no copies of which are now available.

19. *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī*. The work referred to is probably the History of Mālwah entitled *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirshāhī* by an unknown author described by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 968, MS. No. Or. 1803, and not the famous *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī* by Abū-l-Faḍl Baihaqī which was edited by W. H. Morley and printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series in 1862.

20. *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarshāhī* by an unknown author is apparently a very rare work. The only known manuscript (No. Add. 26, 279) of this history, so far I am able to find from the various sources, is preserved in the British Museum, London. It is described by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 287 (1879), as being an account of the siege and capture of Mandū by Muzaffar Shāh II, king of Gujarāt, in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.).

21. *Tārīkh-i-Mirzā Haidar*. The correct title of the work is *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, but in the *Tabaqāt* it is cited as the *Tārīkh* of Mirzā Haidar, after the name of its author. This work is of special value in connection with the history of Kashmīr. An English translation with annotations was published by N. Elias and E. D. Ross (1895).

22. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*. The name of the author is not mentioned, but the work referred to in the *Tabaqāt* is probably the Persian translation of the *Rājatarangīnī* in Sanskrit which was completed by Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād and revised by 'Abd-ul-Qādir Al-Badāonī in 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.). A full account of the work is given in Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 296 (1879).

23. *Tārīkh-i-Sind* by Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkarī is also known as the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī*. It deals with the history of Sind from the Muhammedan conquest to its final absorption in the Moghul Empire during Akbar's reign in 1001 A.H. (1592 A.D.). A detailed account of it is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. I, pp. 212-252 (1867), and the work has recently (1938) been printed under the editorship of Dr. U. M. Daudpota in the Government Oriental Series of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

24. *Tārīkh-i-Bāburī*. No work of this name can be traced and it appears as if the author of the *Tabaqāt* had confused one of the Persian translations of *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī* under this name (*vide infra*).

25. *Wāq'āt-i-Bāburī*. In reference to this work also it is not possible to decide which of the Persian translations of the

Tuzuk-i-Bāburī is referred to by the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*. The translation of Shaikh Zain or 'Zainu'd-din of Khwaf' was made during the lifetime of Emperor Bābur (*vide* Mrs. Beveridge's *Bābur-Nāma*, preface p. xl, 1921, and Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 926), a second one by Pāyandah Ḥasan Ghaznavī and Muḥammad Qulī Mughal Ḥiṣārī was begun in 991 A.H. (1583 A.D.), and completed in 994 A.H., 1586 A.D. (*vide* Mrs. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. xliii, xliv, and Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 799), and finally a third by 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, which "was made at Akbar's orders to help Abū'l-faḥl in the *Akbar-nāma*", and on its completion was presented to Akbar in 998 A.H., 1589 A.D. (*vide* Mrs. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. xliv, and Rieu's *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 244).

26. *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmshāhī*. No work of this name is known, and appears as if *Ibrāhīmshāhī* is a *lapsus calami* on the part of the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* for *Ibrāhīmī*. The *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī*¹, also known as *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūnī*, by Ibrāhīm bin Ḥarīr (probably Jarīr as suggested by Ethé) is "a general history of the world from Adam to A.H. 596 (A.D. 1199)"—see Ethé's *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office*, p. 33, No. 104 (1903).

27. *Wāqī'āt-i-Mushtāqī* by Mushtāqī, commonly known as Rizq Ullah, "is a collection of detached narratives and anecdotes relating to the sovereigns of the Lodi, Timuride and Sur dynasties." An account of the work with translations of some extracts is published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. IV, pp. 534-557 (1872), while details regarding the almost unique manuscript in the British Museum are given by Rieu in his *Catalogue*, vol. II, pp. 820, 821 (1881).

28. *Wāqī'āt-i-Hadrat Jannat Āshiyānī Humāyūn Bādshāh*. By this title Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad apparently means the *Tudhkirat-ul-Wāqī'āt* by Jauhar Āftābchī, which is a useful source of reference in regard to Humāyūn's reign. Details of this work are published in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, pp. 136-149 (1873).

On comparing the above list with Firishtah's sources it is found that the latter gives a list of 35 main works consulted by him for the compilation of his History, while another twenty are cited in the body of the work. Of the works cited in the *Ṭabaqāt* Firishtah does not mention *Khazāin-i-Futūḥ*, *Tughluq-Namāh*, *Tārīkh-i-Nāsirī*, *Tārīkh-i-Mirzā Ḥaidar*, *Tārīkh-i-Bāburī* and *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmshāhī*, while I have doubtfully identified Firishtah's *Tārīkh-i-Jāmī* (or *Ḥājī*) with Muḥammad Bihāmād Khānī's *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* of the *Ṭabaqāt*. In addition there are twenty works which are mentioned in the body of Firishtah's

¹ Not to be confused with *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* which is another name for Firishtah's History, *vide* Elliot's *Bibliographical Index of the Historians of Muhammedan India*, p. 336 (1849).

Tārīkh and which are included in a subsidiary list by Briggs. Of these, two, *Futūh-i-Salāṭīn* and *Waqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī* (? Travels of Abū'l Nusr Nuskatty—No. 7 of Briggs's list), are also included in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Firishtah's list includes the following additional works¹ which are not mentioned in the list of the authorities in the *Ṭabaqāt* :

1. *Mulḥiqāt-i-Shaikh* 'Ainuddīn Bijāpurī.
2. *Bahman-Nāmah* of Shaikh Ādhari.
3. *Tārīkh-i-Binakūti*.
4. *Tuḥfat-us-Salāṭīn Bahamānī* by Mullā Dāūd Bidari.
5. *Tārīkh-Alfi*.
6. *Habīb-us-Siyar*.
7. *Tārīkh-i-Bangālah*.
8. *Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād*.
9. *Khair-ul-Majālis*.
10. *Nuskhah Qutbi*.
11. *Siyar-ul-'Arifin*.

The importance of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* lies in the fact that it was the first comprehensive history of India and that it served as the authority on which several later historical works were based.

The opinion of 'Abd-ul-Qādir, Al-Badā'oni, the author of the *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh*, has already been referred to. Up to the year of Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad's death, his history, though embellished with additional facts, is an abridgment of the *Ṭabaqāt*² and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*. He corrected some of the dates of the *Ṭabaqāt*, but mainly relied on it for the historical facts.

Several chapters of the *Rauḍat-ut-Tāhirīn* by Tāhir Muḥammad, which was written between 1011 A.H. (1602-1603 A.D.) and 1015 A.H. (1606-1607 A.D.) are, according to Elliot (*op. cit.*, p. 300), copied *verbatim* from the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah pronounced the *Ṭabaqāt* to be defective, but "borrowed from it very freely and has formed his own history of Hindustan and the Deccan entirely on the same plan" (Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 178). This is discussed in greater detail by Raverty³, who says "Firishtah's materials were chiefly taken from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*." This opinion is also fully borne out by the running commentary of the *Tārīkh*

¹ For this comparison I have used the lists as given in Briggs's translation of Firishtah entitled *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, vol. I, pp. xlix-li (1829). Sources of Firishtah are also discussed by Mohl in *Journal des Savants*, pp. 220-224 (1840).

² According to Elliott's *Bibliographical Index of the Historians of Muhammedan India*, p. 221 (1849), Al-Badā'oni in his work '*Nijātu-r-Rashīd*' designates his own history "as a mere abridgment of the *Ṭabaqāt*."

³ H. G. Raverty's Preface to his English translation of the '*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*', p. xii (1881).

provided by Mr. De in his very valuable footnotes in the translation of the *Tabaqāt*, particularly in volume III.

The *Tārīkh-i-Shahī* (or *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i Afāghāna*) was composed soon after the compilation of the *Tabaqāt* (before 1594 A.D.) and before 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.) when the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* was written (*Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, pp. 1, 2, 1873). The author Ahmad Yādgār mentions Nizāmī's History or the *Tabaqāt* and *Ma'dan-i-Akhhār* as his authorities and, as M. Hidāyat Ḥosain¹ has recently shown, he has copied *verbatim* the account of the reign of Humāyūn from the *Tabaqāt*.

Maāthir-i-Rahīmī by Mullā 'Abd-ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī was composed in the year 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.). The first volume of this work dealing with the general history of India appears, from its contents and descriptions, on almost identical lines, to be based mainly on the *Tabaqāt*. *Maāthir's* style and language are superior to those of the *Tabaqāt*, but there can be little doubt that the historical part is only a copy of the latter. This view is confirmed by the fact that the detailed account of Akbar's reign in the *Maāthir* ends with the 38th year of his reign; the author in this connection adds that as the narrative in the *Tabaqāt* ends with this year and as he has not been able to obtain any detailed history of the remaining fourteen years of the reign, he has not been able to include a detailed account of this period.²

M. 'Abdul Muqtadir in the Preface³ to the *Haft-Iqlīm* (completed 1002 A.H., 1593 A.D.) of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī remarked that "for the Indian portion of the history he relies mainly upon the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*".

Muntakhab-ul-lubāb by Muḥammad Hāshmi, better known by his nickname of Khāfī Khān, is a very valuable general history of India from the Muhammadan conquest to the reign of Muhammad Shāh, Emperor of Delhi (1719-1748 A.D.). It was published in 1145 A.H. (1732 A.D.). The author⁴ states that Nizāmuddīn Harawī, who was one of the *Bakhshīs* of the Emperor Akbar, wrote a comprehensive history of the twenty-one *Ṣūbas* of the Deccan and included in it the history of Akbar up to the 37th year of his reign. His account of the Sultāns of the Deccan in general is not reliable, and with reference to the accounts of the Sultāns of this region the author has not come across any other historical work, except that of Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah, which can be fully relied upon. As Nizāmuddīn had, however,

¹ Vide M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's text edition of *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, Preface, pp. 6, 7 (1939).

² See M. Hidāyat Ḥosain's text edition of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, vol. I, p. 933 (1924).

³ *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of *Haft Iqlīm* by E. D. Ross and M. 'Abdul Muqtadir, p. vi (1918).

⁴ Vide Kabiruddīn Ahmad and Ghulam Qadir's text edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, vol. I, pp. 237-243 (1869).

been in the service of the Emperor Akbar throughout his life, his narrative of the reign of this King can be fully relied upon, and he bases his account of the *Panj hazārī* and *Chahār hazārī Amīrs* and of some of the religious great men and poets on the *Ṭabaqāt*.

Akbar-Nāma of Shaikh Ilāhdād Faiḍī Sirhindī is, according to Dowson¹, except for the account of the services rendered by his patron Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī and "some scraps of poetry and some wonderful stories", only a compilation from the *Ṭabaqāt* and *Akbarnāma* of Abū-l-Faḍl. It ends with 1010 A.H. (1602 A.D.), the year in which Abū-l-Faḍl's work was completed.

Various other historical works of a later date have either based their accounts on or borrowed from the *Ṭabaqāt*, but it is not necessary to deal with them here.

Of the authors in English it is only necessary to note that the *Ṭabaqāt* is regarded by Elliot, Erskine, Elliot and Dowson, Lees, Ranking, Wolseley Haig, Beni Prasad and others as "amongst the best Persian histories and the most reliable sources of our information"².

It was the first comprehensive work which dealt with the history of India to the exclusion of the other Asiatic countries, and in which the histories of different provinces were dealt in a strict historical sequence. It must also be remembered that the author was primarily a court official, an administrator and a soldier not a *wāqī'ah-navīs* or a court historian. Historical work was with him a labour of love, and being an officer with other more pressing duties, this was carried out by him with the help of his protégés under very unsettled conditions of life. His work also must not be judged by the modern standards. As Elliot admirably summed up in his learned preface³, the works of the Muhammadan historians can hardly be regarded as ranking higher than annals. "They comprise, for the most part, nothing but a mere narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence; without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile or contemptible kind; and without any observation calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, fratricides, so common in Asiatic Monarchies." With the restraining influences of ostracism and even death under the despotic monarchs during whose times these histories were compiled, there could hardly be any chance for the development of individual character or the expression of unbiassed opinions. In common with the authors of the times, and this was not restricted to Muhammadan authors only, Islam in the *Ṭabaqāt* is lauded above all other

¹ Dowson in *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VI, pp. 116-146 (1875).

² Vide Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 442 (1930).

³ Vide Elliot, *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India*, Preface, pp. v-xxx (1849).

religions, the Muhammadans are of the true faith and all others are infidels; when the former are killed in battle or otherwise they drink "the cup of martyrdom", while the souls of the infidels "are despatched to hell". Patriotism and bravery of the *Kāfirs* are condemned in very strong terms, while even cowardice, intrigues, wholesale massacres and desecration and demolition of the religious institutions of the Hindūs are applauded. All the same the author deserves full credit for being far in advance of his times and to a great extent free from religious bigotry when he, as against Diyā Barnī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī*, who describes *Khusrau Khān* on the occasion of his battle with *Ghāzī Malik* "as the effeminate wretch who could not bear the attack of men", applauds him as "having with great bravery and courage fought to the end of the day."¹

Similarly in narrating the chivalrous treatment of Sultān Maḥmūd at the hands of Rānā Sānkā (Sangrāma Singh, Rānā of Mewār) and restoring to him the kingdom of Mālwah after the former's defeat and capture by the latter, *Khawājah NiẒām-uddin*² shows himself a true historian untrammelled by any religious bigotry or prejudices. In dealing with Akbar, his king and patron, he employs the usual eulogistic high sounding titles and phrases, but cannot, like Abū-l-Faḍl³, be accused of uncouth flattery, both in form and style, or of wilful concealment of facts. As a historian he casually mentions the "Divine Faith", but does not go into any great detail regarding the observances of the faith or criticize the Emperor, Abu-l-Faḍl and any of the other followers. He was writing a history of the period from personal observations and information collected from all available sources and has succeeded more than any other author of his time in producing what Dowson⁴ rightly styles a contemporary history of very high authority.

The *Ṭabaqāt* does not exhibit much literary talent and is not written in any ornate style. The language is fairly simple and vigorous, but not grandiose and highly polished; it is more of the Afghān type which is quite different from the almost pure Persian of Irān, used by Firishtah or Mullā

¹ Vide De's translation of vol. I of the *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 207.

² *Ṭabaqāt* text edition, vol. III, p. 203:

بر ضمائے اہل بصیرت پوشیدہ نمائد - کہ کار رانا سانکا از سلطان مظفر
بالا ترست - چه سلطان مظفر پناه برده را مدد نمود - و رانا سانکا دشمن را
در حروب گرفته سلطنت داد - و مثل این قضیہ غریب تا غایت معلوم نیست *

³ See Blochmann's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Phillott's revised edition), Preface, pp. vii, viii (1939); Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, introduction, pp. xi, xii (1939), and Wolseley Haig in *Cambridge History of India*, vol. IV, p. 111 (1937).

⁴ *Elliot's History of India*, vol. V, Preface, p. vii (1873).

‘Abd-ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī, the author of *Maṭṭih-i-Raḥīmī*. Arabic quotations are only sparingly used, but the dates are invariably given in Arabic rather than Persian. The narrative, owing to long sentences, is often involved, rather disjointed and even fragmentary, but as few metaphors and similes are used, there is seldom any difficulty in comprehending the exact meaning of the author¹.

¹ Unfortunately widely different schemes for the transliteration of the names of authors and their publications are adopted by different authors. The originals are strictly followed for the citations in the footnotes, but the transliterations in the text are, except where within inverted commas, in accordance with the scheme recommended by the International Oriental Congress of 1894.

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